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Mohasco Industries
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Monarch Life
Monarch Machine Tool
Monsanto Chemical
Montana-Dakota Utilities
Montana Power
Montgomery Ward
Moore Corp.
Moore and McCormack
Morgan Guaranty Trust
Morrell (John)
Motorola
Mountain Fuel Supply
Munsingwear
Murphy (G. C.)
Murphy Oil Corp.
National Acme
National Airlines
National Aviation Corp.
National Bank of Detroit
National Bellas Hess
National Biscuit
National Can
National Cash Register
National City Lines
National Dairy Products
National Distillers
National Fire Ins. (Hart.)
National Fuel Gas
National General Corp.
National Gypsum
National Homes
National Lead
National Starch & Chemical
National Steel
National Sugar Refining
National Tea
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Natomas Co.
Neisner Brothers
Nekoosa-Edwards Paper
Nevada Power
Newberry (J. J.)
New Britain Machine
New England Electric
New England G. & E.
New England Tel. & Tel.
Newmont Mining
Newport News Ship.
N. Y. Air Brake
N. Y. Central R. R.
N. Y. State Elec. & Gas
Niagara Mohawk Power
Nicholson File
Nopco Chemical
Norfolk & Western Rwy.
North American Aviation
North American Car
North American Coal
North American Sugar
North Carolina Nat'l Bank
Northeast Airlines, Inc.
North East Utilities
Northern Illinois Gas
North. Indiana Pub. Ser.
Northern Natural Gas
Northern Pacific Railway
Northern States Power
Northrop Corp.
Northwest Airlines
Northwest Bancorp.
Norton Co.
Norwich Pharmacal
Occidental Petroleum
Ogden Corp.
Ohio Edison
Oklahoma Gas & Electric
Oklahoma Natural Gas
Olin Mathieson Chem.
Orange & Rockland Util.
Otis Elevator
Otter Tail Power
Outboard Marine
Owens-Corning Fiberglas
Owens-Illinois
Oxford Paper
Pabst Brewing
Pacific Gas & Electric
Pac. Intermountain Express
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Panhandle East. Pipe Line
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Penn Fruit Co.
Penney (J. C.)
Pennsalt Chemicals
Penn. Power & Light
Pennsylvania Railroad
Pennzoil
Peoples Drug Stores
Peoples Gas, Light & Coke
PepsiCo
Pepsi-Cola Gen'l Bottlers
Perkin-Elmer
Pet Inc.
Pfizer (Charles)
Phelps Dodge
Philadelphia Electric
Philadelphia Nat'l Bank
Philip Morris
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Pillsbury Co.
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Pub. Service of New Mexico
Pub. Serv. Elec. & Gas
Publicker Industries
Puget Sound P. & L.
Pullman
Purex Corp.
Purolator Products
Quaker Oats
Quaker States Oil Refining
Radio Corp. of America
Ralston Purina
Ranco Inc.
Raybestos-Manhattan
Rayette-Faberge
Raymond International
Rayonier
Raytheon Mfg.
Reading
Red Owl Stores
Reed International
Reichhold Chemicals
Reliance Electric & Eng.
Reliance Insurance
Remington Arms
Republic Nat'l Bk., Dallas
Republic Nat'l Life Ins.
Republic Steel
Revere Copper & Brass
Revlon, Inc.
Rex Chainbelt
Rexall Drug & Chemical
Reynolds Metals
Reynolds (R. J.) Tobacco
Rheem Manufacturing
Rheingold
Richardson-Merrell
Riegel Paper
Ritter-Pfaudler
Roadway Express
Robertshaw Controls
Rochester Gas & Electric
Rochester Telephone
Rockwell Mfg.
Rockwell-Standard
Rohm & Haas
Rohr Corp.
Ronson Corp.
Rorer, Wm. H.
Royal Crown Cola
Royal Dutch Petroleum
Rubbermaid, Inc.
Ruberoid
Ryder System
Safeway Stores
St. Joseph Lead
St. Louis-San Fran. Rwy.
St. Paul Fire & Marine Ins.
St. Regis Paper
San Diego Gas & Electric
Sangamo Electric
Schenley Industries
Schering
Schick Electric
Schlitz (Jos.) Brewing
Schlumberger, Ltd.
SCM Corp.
Scott Paper
Scovill Mfg.
Screw & Bolt Corp.
Seaboard Air Line R. R.
Seaboard Finance
Seaboard World Airlines
Searle (G. D.) & Co.
Sears, Roebuck
Seattle-First Nat'l Bank
Security-First Nat'l (L. A.)
Shamrock Oil & Gas
Sharon Steel
Shattuck (Frank G.)
Shell Oil
Shell Transport & Tr.
Shelter Mfg.
Sheraton Corp. of Amer.
Sherwin-Williams
Signal Oil & Gas
Signode Corp.
Simmons Co.
Simon & Schuster
Simplicity Pattern
Sinclair Oil
Singer Co.
Skelly Oil
Smith (A. O.)
Smith, Kline & French
Soo Line Railroad
South Carolina El. & Gas
South Jersey Gas
South Puerto Rico Sugar
Southern California Ed.
Southern Co.
Southern Natural Gas
Southern New Eng. Tel.
Southern Pacific
Southern Railway
Southern Union Gas
Southwestern Public Serv.
Spartan Ind.
Spector Freight
Sperry Rand
Sprague Electric
Square D
Staley (A. E.) Mfg.
Standard Brands
Standard Kollsman
Standard Oil of Cal.
Standard Oil of Ind.
Standard Oil of N. J.
Standard Oil of Ohio
Standard Packaging
Standard Prudential United
Stanley Warner
Stanley Works (The)
Stanray Corp.
Stauffer Chemical
Steel Co. of Canada
Sterling Drug
Stevens (J. P.)
Stewart-Warner
Stokely-Van Camp
Stone Container
Stone & Webster
Storer Broadcasting
Stouffer Foods
Studebaker Corp.
Suburban Propane Gas
SuCrest Corp.
Sun Chemical
Sun Oil
Sunbeam
Sundstrand Corp.
Sunray DX Oil
Superior Oil
Swift
Symington Wayne
Syntex
Talcott (James), Inc.
Tampa Electric
Tampax, Inc.
Technicolor
Tektronix
Teledyne Inc.
Tenneco
Texaco
Texas Eastern Transmission
Texas Gas Transmission
Texas Gulf Sulphur
Texas Instruments
Texas Utilities
Textron, Inc.
Thiokol Chemical
Tidewater Oil
Time, Inc.
Times-Mirror Co.
Timken Roller Bearing
Toledo Edison
Torrington
Trane Co.
Transamerica
Transcontinental Gas Pipe
Trans World Airlines
Travelers Corp.
Tri-Continental
TRW, Inc.
Tucson Gas & Electric
Tung-Sol Electric
Twentieth Century-Fox
Udylite Corp.
UMC Industries
Union Bank (Los Angeles)
Union Camp
Union Carbide
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Union Oil of California
Union Pacific Railroad
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Wheeling Steel
Whirlpool Corp.
White Motor
Wilson & Co.
Winn-Dixie Stores
Wisconsin Electric Power
Wisconsin Power & Light
Wisconsin Public Service
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Wolverine World Wide
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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Embarrassments

★ Mr. Johnson is now back campaigning in this country, as he was (it seems to us) in Manila. The conference papered-over US isolation in Vietnam by spotlighting our "allies," all six of them. Only Australia, however, and our client-state South Korea, have combat forces. No single NATO ally is with us, or the three countries which have most to fear from Chinese expansion – Japan, India and Russia.

Here is our dilemma: World opinion is against us. Our own conscience can't approve napalm, defoliation and civilian destruction. Benefits of our bombing were oversold by the administration and it won't stop bombing now without acknowledging an embarrassing mistake. Hanoi, we think, will not seek peace till bombing stops; in any case we are fueling a century of hatred in a gathering, white-colored, global cleavage. In this fix we are practically kneeling to Hanoi, begging them, for God's sake, to sue for peace – peace always under conditions that mark their defeat.

This column on August 27 rather excitedly described the HUAC hearings under Rep. Joe Pool (D, Texas) which offered evidence (?) that collegiate anti-Vietnam protests were infiltrated by communists. It was a lively affair, with ACLU attorney Kinoy dragged off to jail after a shouting match with Pool. We described the lead-off witness as he was represented to us, a disinterested and elegant communist turncoat, appearing as friend of the committee: "Philip Abbot Luce, 29 . . . highbrow, God-at-Yale accent. . . . blond handlebar moustache, blond curly hair worn like a wig, like a bobbed General Custer." Well, we didn't like Mr. Luce and it probably appeared in our copy. We said that he probably had "a lucrative career of exposure opening before him."

What we didn't know was that HUAC paid $1,000 to Luce after he testified. Furthermore, that HUAC customarily awards friendly witnesses. The information came out accidentally when a conservative congressman, Wayne Hays (D, Ohio), who doesn't care one way or another about HUAC, got provoked. He was making the factual point that HUAC rewards sympathetic witnesses, and when chairman Willis (D) denied it, Hays testily put the evidence into the record.

HUAC is currently pressing contempt citations against Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, head of the Chicago Board of Health's heart disease control program, and winner of an Albert Lasker Award. Hays, who is chairman of a bookkeeping committee that keeps financial tabs on other House committees, on October 18 listed 18 HUAC witnesses who received $35,228 since the middle of 1961. They are mostly ex-FBI men and ex-communists. In the Stamler case, in an exchange on the House floor, chairman Willis finally admitted that a couple of his witnesses had been compensated. "I hope you do not draw any conclusions," he said tartly to Rep. O'Hara (D, Ill.). "I only draw the conclusion," O'Hara retorted, "that when somebody is trying to steal the reputation of a man of spotless reputation there must have been a price paid somewhere."

Campaign Fund

★ On your 1040 Income Tax return for 1967 there will be a box and, if you mark it "x," $1 of your tax will go to finance the presidential candidates in 1968. Note this: it will not begin next year, it will be for 1967; it will not be for contests of congressmen or governors, just presidential candidates; it will not apply to conventions or primaries, just the costs after actual nomination; and most of it will go evenly to both parties, 50 cents to Republicans, 50 cents to Democrats, no matter what your own political affiliation is.

It is the great What-is-it of the 89th Congress. Is it good, is it bad? Honestly, we don't know! The foggy details are almost unexplained in a stupefied Washington. As we write this we called up the Treasury for a ruling: would the box appear on 1040 *every* year? The answer was "no." But five minutes ago we got called back: "yes," the Treasury lawyer now says, that is, so far as he interprets it.

The amount raised could, theoretically, reach $60 million or more under a complicated formula. This limits the kitty to the total US presidential vote four years before (70.6 million votes in 1964) minus five million votes apiece for the two major parties, which is a kind of initiation charge. Minor parties are grossly discriminated against. Originally it was prescribed that a third party would have to get 1.5 million votes at the previous election to qualify; then fear of the Wallace movement led them to hoist the figure to five million. Goodbye, LaFollette Progressives! That doesn't end the anti-third party bias, either. If there are only two parties, the Democrats and Republicans will split the potential $60-$70 million between them. But the third party doesn't get a third of the loot; it gets only $1 a vote for each vote *over its initial qualifying five million (i.e.,* 5,000,001 votes=$1).

The argument for broadening the base of financial support is a strong one; the way rich men are tying strings to candidates is a scandal. Use of public funds to defray campaign costs has merit. Mr. Johnson himself proposed tax exemption up to $100 to stimulate contributions. Furthermore, this particular $1 earmarking experiment has novel possibilities. It is now the law, unless the 90th Congress discovers what it has done and modifies or repeals it. Just for the hell of it, we would like to see it tried. It might have a centralizing effect on our irresponsible political parties. But . . . but . . . but! Is it *constitutional?* Can a private citizen designate how tax money shall be spent? It is not *his* money; the tax *belongs to the government;* only Congress can appropriate money under the Constitution. If this law stands won't Form 1040 blossom with other little boxes – money for schools, foreign aid, sandwich shops – a kind of quadrennial yes and no referendum?

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CONTENTS

COMMENT 7-8
On Election Day, Manila Manifesto

The Coattails of Bigotry
– *Henry W. De Zutter* 8

Ten Days that Shook the Capital
– *Andrew Kopkind* 9

But What If Reagan Becomes the Governor?
– *Julius Duscha* 11

Nigeria – the Pulling Apart of a Nation
– *A Special Correspondent* 13

Mr. Wilson under Fire
– *Brian Wenham* 14

Eyes Right – *Richard Dudman* 15

Finding Jobs for the Poor
– *Edward Moscovitch* 16

Who Gets in the Army?
– *Daniel P. Moynihan* 19

FEIFFER 23

The Business of Books
– *Stanley Kauffmann* 24

BOOKS – *Essays and reviews by Murray Kempton, Morris Renek, Joseph A. Page, Wolf Von Eckardt* 25

MOVIES *by Pauline Kael* 42

ART *by Frank Gettlein* 45

CORRESPONDENCE 47

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On Election Day

We shall know more on November 9 about the mood of the country than we do today, but not much more. For we are not about to have a national referendum on national issues. Three weeks before the balloting, the leader of the Democratic Party chose to leave the country and the defining of his party's program. The Republican Party has no leader and no program. Vietnam is an issue, but not a choice. Every candidate is for peace, and almost every candidate says we can't give up the battle. Some are more hawkish than others, but it is hard to find a campaign in which serious alternatives in Vietnam are being seriously debated. The reason may be that although many Americans are anxious about what is happening, and may happen, in Asia, they hesitate to think they are wiser than the commander-in-chief; they are prisoners of commitments that have been made in their name, and after 20 years of being told that we are in a life and death struggle with world communism, they automatically arise to fight again when the bell rings.

What then is there to vote for or against? The Great Society? Who opposes it, in principle? Anyway, the building of that society is not being ardently championed at the moment by Democrats, most of whom are campaigning on the old theme of "you've never had it so good." And while the Republicans in the 89th Congress have tried in committees and subcommittees and through amendments from the floor to slice every welfare loaf by half or three-quarters, they have not thrown themselves headlong against a consensus that favors better schools, cleaner cities and rivers and improved medical care. They, like the Democrats, are a coalition, each segment of which is colored by regional sentiment. In the south, most Republicans are only slightly less extreme segregationists than the Democrats (gubernatorial candidate Jim Martin of Alabama, for example, who opposes Lurleen Wallace), while New York or New Jersey Republicans are often as hospitable to civil rights as their Democratic counterparts.

In an off-year election as unfocused as this, the "outs" have only to say it's "time for a change." It is an easily accepted cliché because almost nobody is satisfied with everything. Someone new might do better. And the somebody new, if he is politically shrewd, does not have to say *what* he will do – indeed, he had better not. He need only remind his audience of their fears. That reminder is about the only single theme that is being played in all the various campaigns in every state. You have a job, but what is happening to your food bill? You

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have a home, but what about interest rates? You live in a fairly orderly community, but how about the riots nearby, or a thousand miles away?

In the last mid-term election, 1962, about 20 percent of those eligible to vote in the south (13.7 percent in Mississippi) made it to the polls, and the highest voter turnout, 66.6 percent, was in Idaho. Next week's figures may show an increase, at least in parts of the south, but the results will reflect something far smaller than the mood of the whole country. Such widespread abstention doesn't matter "where to elect there is but one/'Tis Hobson's choice – take that or none." Texas or the US Senate will be no better or worse served by returning Republican John Tower or replacing him with Democrat Waggoner Carr (though Texas would do itself credit by repudiating two of its Democratic congressional candidates, Joe Pool and Frank Briscoe).

There are, nevertheless, many contests where options are clear-cut and one office-seeker the more deserving. The monumental Paul Douglas of Illinois seems to us a choice of this sort, though he would not be our candidate for Secretary of State. There are a handful of Republicans running for the Senate whose election would be reassuring: Clifford Case of New Jersey, John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky (called "an appeaser" by his opponent), and Mark Hatfield of Oregon. There are also a few Republican gubernatorial candidates, who by virtue of their own performance or, as in the case of Maryland, the cheapness of their opponent, ought to win: Nelson Rockefeller in New York, David M. Cargo in New Mexico, and Spiro Agnew in Maryland. California voters have no Hobson's choice; it is either an unglamorous governor who has some grasp of the public's problems or an attractive amateur who isn't sure what those problems are, but thinks they can be solved by government's doing less.

Democratic dominance in the Senate can't be upset next week. But there are some exceptional Democrats, all of whom are in jeopardy, whose defeat would hurt: Metcalf of Montana, Mondale of Minnesota, McIntyre of New Hampshire. Far more grievous would be the loss of some younger Democrats in the House, all of them in the doubtful column, who represent our best hope for a sane political future: Dyal, Corman, Brown from California; Stalbaum in Wisconsin; Wolff, Resnick, Dow and Hanley from New York; McVicker in Colorado; Foley in Washington; Irwin in Connecticut; Craley in Pennsylvania; Schmidhauser and Culver in Iowa; Vivian and Clevenger from Michigan; Redlin in North Dakota; Gilligan and Love in Ohio; Huot in New Hampshire; Helstoski, McGrath and Howard in New Jersey.

In the last Congress the majority for modern government was no more than 25 to 30 House members. Their survival on November 8 is what counts.

Manila Manifesto

The Manila conference that concluded last week, President Johnson attending, may have pushed peace in Vietnam a couple of steps further away instead of bringing it near. UN Ambassador Arthur Goldberg declared in September, "Peace will finally be restored by negotiation. . . . I know of no other way." Manila made only the most cursory mention of negotiations, and no mention at all of halting the bombing of North Vietnam; only hours after the communiqué was signed, South Vietnamese prime minister Ky was telling reporters: "No negotiations with communists; never!" In the South, Ky boasted, "those who do not retreat or switch sides will be hunted down." This presumably is what paragraph eleven of the Manila communiqué means when it states the "Vietnamese leaders' intent to train and assign a substantial share of the armed forces to clear-and-hold actions in order to provide a shield behind which a new society can be built." So what have they been up to, all those years? In the absence of negotiations, the Viet Cong are much more likely to go on fighting than to switch. They are far from retreating. In the all-important Mekong delta, the South Vietnamese government forces barely manage, with massive US air support, to hold their own against the Viet Cong, and General Westmoreland bluntly told the Manila conference he needs still more American troops. Manila has come and gone, and it's the same dirty war and the same tired record of empty boasts and broken promises.

The Coattails of Bigotry

Chicago

John Lesczinski is a jovial Chicago cab driver who dislikes Negroes. He is no rarity in his all-white northwest-side neighborhood, which threw rocks at Dr. Martin Luther King's open-housing marchers this summer. But Lesczinski, with little else to recommend him, is trying to parlay his racist views into a seat in the 90th Congress. He is one of three Republican congressional candidates who are using the "backlash" to try to upset the incumbent machine Democrats.

Democratic precinct captains, most of whom hold political jobs, are complaining that angry backlashers won't let them reach their doorsteps. In a city that has been dominated for years by the politics of material reward, "issue" politics is rearing its ugly head. And the issue is not the Vietnam war. The Daley machine is reaping the bitter harvest of years of civic neglect in the area of race relations. To its credit, though, the machine has not backed away from open housing. And

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backlash Republicans won't let voters forget it.

The most famous backlasher is John J. Hoellen, an alderman for the last 19 years, and a 275-pound mountain of indignation. The national press – including all three TV networks – have used Hoellen's race against moderate incumbent Roman Pucinski as the ideal example of the backlash in operation. Their 11th Congressional District has a high "foreign stock" population. More than half the residents are immigrants or first-generation Americans with roots in race-conscious eastern Europe.

Hoellen bills himself as the "fighting alderman" or "vigilante alderman." He is noted for leading a crusade against the assigned use of James Baldwin's *Another Country* in a city junior college, and against locating in his ward a school for socially maladjusted boys.

Hoellen interprets Pucinski's vote for the rent-supplement program as part of a conspiracy to "blockbust Polish neighborhoods with Negro reliefers." He incorrectly charges that families earning as much as $14,000 can qualify "for a federal handout" for rent-supplement payments. His shock troops from a right-wing Polish-neighborhood organization named TKO (The Kilbourn Organization) insist that Pucinski also is conspiring with City Hall to locate an all-Negro public-housing project on an empty lot in a Polish neighborhood. Only there is no such plan.

Hoellen, who inherited his aldermanic post from his father, has a well-known name working for him. If he wins, more than backlash will be responsible.

But this is not true of the relatively unknown Lesczinski in the 8th District or Walter Kiltz in the 5th.

In his only appeal, Lesczinski tries to explain the wider, and often overlooked effects of open-housing laws: "These laws can force you to live with your father-in-law, if you don't want to," he says. "This isn't just a Negro thing; it would force you to live with your in-laws. If you try to stop it, you'll be thrown in jail."

The backlashers are hawks on Vietnam, except for Hoellen, who says he's a dove because our "overemphasis on the Far East" means we are ignoring the captive nations of eastern Europe. "Have we abandoned Poland, Hungary, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia?" he asks.

But the war issue is more of an afterthought in these backlash campaigns. Kiltz mentions it in passing in his all-purpose speech: "I say that Martin Luther King and Al Raby [a local rights leader] are believed to be communist. Then I ask why we are spending millions to fight communism all the way over in Vietnam, when we have more dangerous communists in our own city."

The GOP backlashers are waging campaigns every bit as racist as Lester Maddox's, but the Republican Party, locally or nationally, has produced no Charles Weltner. Not even "the new" Chuck Percy has spoken out against the racist tactics used to promote the Republican cause. And Richard Nixon, who insists that there are no GOP backlash candidates for Congress, has come here to personally bless Hoellen. He was so impressed with the vigilante alderman that he got him $10,000 from the national Republican Boosters.

Just as silent, but more candid than Percy, is another GOP congressional candidate, Albert Manion. King's marchers also went through his 3rd District. But Negroes also live in the district, and though Manion opposes federal open-housing proposals "on constitutional grounds," he is not waging a blatantly racist campaign. He doesn't have to: "The Republican committeemen in the all-white areas are doing it for me. Sure, they are running racist campaigns. But they're bound to help me – just as they will help the liberal Mr. Percy and every other Republican. These people are straight-ticket voters and this is the year of the change."

HENRY W. DE ZUTTER

Ten Days that Shook the Capital

Nothing so ill-became the life of the 89th Congress as the leaving of it. In those last, incredible ten days, members seemed possessed of an uncontrollable impulse to mischief or irrelevance. Then, like a shot, the last gavel put the session out of its misery.

It was a wonder that Congress did anything at all in those ten days. Most members were preoccupied with their elections or their vacations (which for some amount to the same thing). The Senate sank into a kind of languor in late summer, after filibusters drained the emotional energy generated by the civil rights bill and the "right-to-work" repealer. The powerlessness of senators to do anything, one way or another, about the war in Vietnam produced more ennui than anger. It was hard to find a quorum of 51 senators during the last week (although only 28 are running for reelection, and theoretically should be in their states). At the end, at an impasse over the election financing amendment, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield had to command his troops to return to Washington, and he hired military

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jets to get them there.

In the House, things had fallen apart after the able Majority Leader, Carl Albert, suffered a heart attack in September. He is still out of action. Hale Boggs, the Whip, panicked over an election challenge in New Orleans and could barely concentrate on congressional business. His deputy, John Moss, disappeared about two weeks before the session ended, and has not been heard from since. Only Speaker McCormack could try to hold the show together. He did his best, but no one man can keep all the centrifugating elements in check.

By the beginning of October the session had already lasted too long. The President had once thought it might end by summer, but the members dawdled. There were months wasted on lost causes, like Senator Dirksen's constitutional amendments for school prayers and state legislative malapportionment. Both failed. Three important innovations proposed in the State of the Union – fair housing, electoral college reform, and four-year terms for representatives – were shelved.

At last, momentum picked up. Bills shuttled between the two chambers, conferees met into the night, lobbyists made their final pitches. In one brief session, the House whipped through 20 bills, including one regulating Chinese gooseberries and another providing a carillon for the University of California. Time was spent arguing about the importation of Scottish bagpipes (approved), and there was an hour's debate on whether, or what, to name a lake in Alabama.

Both the cards and the dealers were wild. Melvin Laird, the House Republican Conference chairman, took $800,000 out of anti-poverty funds and assigned it to a tribe of Indians in his district in Wisconsin. There were presents for everybody. Hale Boggs got an antitrust law exemption for professional football leagues, so that New Orleans might profitably bid for a new team. Claude Pepper got $5 million for a permanent trade fair in Florida called "Interama"; the poor man has been fighting for it (whatever it is) since 1941. San Antonio, Texas, got a similar toy called "Hemisfair." A small covey of Senate doves was able to defer confirmation of Rutherford Poats, who has been in charge of US aid in Vietnam, as deputy AID director. Senator Hiram Fong, of Hawaii, held up 37 private relief bills for Cuban refugees while he pushed a few bills of his own. Doctors, lawyers and other professionals got tax deductions for "private pension plans," while the elderly were denied extra deductions for medical expenses. But big businessmen had their investment tax-credit repealed, as an antidote to inflation. William Natcher, House appropriations subcommittee chairman, forced the D.C. planning commission to approve freeway routes, which he fancies; he then permitted Congress to vote money for a subway in Washington. Auto safety enthusiasts got $20 million (with the promise of more) for enforcing federal standards; Congress had authorized $90.3 million. Paul Douglas got his Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore (with less area but more beach).

Joe Pool, chairman of the HUAC subcommittee which investigated war protestors this summer, persuaded the House to make certain anti-war activities federal crimes. He rushed to Dallas with the bill to prove his anti-communist credentials against a far-right Republican opponent. (The bill did not get through the Senate, although Tom Dodd's Internal Security subcommittee approved it without hearings.) Almost everyone was happy to see the new Ethics Committee stripped of all its proposed powers.

There were the usual replays of Cold War themes. Republicans pushed through a prohibition on Export-Import bank loans and credits to communist countries. "We are engaged in a major world-wide struggle with the communists," former Republican Leader Charles Halleck intoned. "I don't like this business of trying to pick the good ones from the bad." Speaker McCormack intervened ("Be a good boy, now, Charlie,") and so did the old foreign aid curmudgeon, Otto Passman. They got the House finally to reverse itself and allow transactions with communists, if LBJ insists.

The same problem came up again on Food for Peace (which had been renamed Food for Freedom at one point, and then changed back). Republicans wrote in a ban on aid to countries (India and Morocco, for two) trading with Cuba and North Vietnam. The strictures against Cuba were finally modified, but those against Hanoi were kept. The mid-fifties brand of anti-communism was seen again in contempt votes against three Chicagoans who refused to testify at a HUAC hearing in May, 1965. Earlier attempts to put the citations on the House calendar this year, in January and February, failed to attract much support. HUAC Chairman Edwin Willis waited for a busy moment during the last week, and plopped them into the hopper.

The sharp crack of the backlash echoed all through the last days. Its immediate victims were the citizens of the District of Columbia (65 percent of them Negro), who were given an omnibus "crime bill" that effectively repeals much of the judicial progress of the last half-decade. It allows police to "detain" suspects without actually arresting them; they can then be questioned for four hours – stretched out, if necessary, for as long as the police may want. Once arrested, suspects can be held for six hours of interrogation – again, extended over any length of hours, before arraignment. The Durham Rule, a liberal test for legal insanity ("not guilty" if a crime is the result of mental disease), is repealed for a compromise "right-and-wrong" standard. Penalties for crimes are increased (six months becomes four years minimum for robbery) and judges'

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discretion removed. There are new powers to enjoin publishers of "obscenity," of doubtful constitutionality.

The crime bill passed the Senate, 1-0. Sen. Alan Bible stood alone in the chamber. The Senate District of Columbia Committee was forced into an elaborate charade of "approval" because the counterpart House committee threatened to hold up all major District government legislation until the crime bill passed. Senators gave in but made plain what they thought about political blackmail. Robert Kennedy was appalled. Wayne Morse saw a "totalitarian society."

There was more backlash. The approved War on Poverty bill fixes "participation of the poor" at one-out-of-three community action agency members, but it also denies aid to "rioters" or members of groups that riot. More seriously, the antipoverty amendments starve out community action work with lack of funds. The "model cities" plan which provides a whopping $11.5 million for rebuilding major urban areas across the US this year (and authorizes, but does not appropriate $400 million for next year), contains a prohibition against federal action to bus students for integrated schools.

But there were a few victories against the backlash sentiment. At the last minute, Senator Stennis' obstacles to enforcement of desegregation rules for hospitals were dropped from a Health-Education-Welfare appropriations bill. And a "compromise" amendment actually establishes more firmly the Education Commissioner's right to withhold funds from recalcitrant school districts for two months without prior hearings.

The last hang-up came in the debate on a rather innocuous bill to tax foreign investments in the US. For one reason or another, members had spread 23 amendments beneath the bill, like presents at a Christmas tree, someone said. Twenty-two of them went unnoticed. The 23rd stuck in Senator Albert Gore's craw. It was a pet project of Senate Whip Russell Long, which permits taxpayers to check-off $1 on their tax returns each year for a general campaign financing kitty. "It's one big loophole," a baffled congressman said when the bill was in the House. But Long pressed on. He had made two speeches on the bill earlier in the year. Senator Gore wanted to know where the money would go, what guidelines would regulate its disbursement, how it would avoid the Hatch Act limit of $3 million expenditures per party committee, and how independent political movements might ever have a chance to develop.

Mansfield began recalling the senators. By the middle of a fine Saturday afternoon 53 of them had assembled in Washington. Gore saw he was licked. The Senate quickly voted the tax bill through and ended what had become, in its last hours at least, the Long Congress.

Andrew Kopkind

But What If Reagan Becomes the Governor?

San Francisco

The war in Vietnam has brought unprecedented prosperity to California, but the unemployment rate in Watts and in Hunter's Point on the Oakland flats and in the other Negro and Mexican-American ghettos is as high as ever. Every new automobile is supposed to have an anti-smog device, but smog continues to choke Los Angeles and is spreading along the once idyllic shores of San Francisco Bay. New freeways are being built only to create bigger and more frustrating traffic jams. The state's university system is in trouble, and state funds finance a smaller percentage of education costs today than five years ago. California is in crisis, but both Governor Pat Brown and Ronald Reagan are talking about hackneyed remedies.

Several weeks before the ballot, 20 percent of the state's 8.3 million voters still hadn't made up their mind which candidate to prefer. Reagan seems to be the favorite in this patent-medicine campaign not because his palliatives are more attractive, but largely because Brown's remedies have been around for eight long years. In today's TV-billboard world, familiarity breeds contempt.

In 1958, Brown beat William Knowland because Knowland frightened California's strong union movement by advocating right-to-work laws. Four years ago Brown defeated Richard Nixon because Californians knew Nixon was interested in the governorship only as a way-station to the White House, and because the John Birch society and other right-wing groups threatened to take over the state's Republican Party. Since then Birchers have become a little better organized and have sold a lot of little books that one suspects are seldom read, but they have also become more of a joke than a threat. Nevertheless, Brown spent most of September and October warning the voters about the danger of Birchism (Reagan is not a member of the society.) Then, in the third week of October, the governor abruptly dropped the Birch issue, sensing that voters were bored by it.

While using the Birch threat to frighten moderate Democrats and Republicans, Brown did not neglect Reagan's principal opponent in the Republican primary last June, or anti-Brown forces in the Democratic primary. The governor paid a humiliating visit to Republican George Christopher's San Francisco dairy to offer his apologies to Christopher, who had challenged Reagan forces. Brown also openly courted the support of Los Angeles Mayor Samuel Yorty, who unashamedly exploited the backlash and got almost one million

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votes in the primary against Brown. Yet both Christopher and Yorty remained neutral in the fall campaign. Jesse Unruh, an arch-enemy of Brown's, was made the governor's southern California campaign manager; Unruh reciprocated by accepting a State Department invitation to tour South America during the last two weeks of October.

California's Republican Party is still deeply divided between moderates and conservatives, but Reagan's spectacular two-to-one victory over Christopher in the primary served to bring about a surface unity. The only holdout of any importance is Sen. Thomas Kuchel, who has refused to endorse Reagan (because he will not denounce the Birchers) and has not set foot in the state during this campaign. Other Republican moderates, sick of the factional bickering, have swallowed hard and publicly gone along.

Reagan's political views are as muddled as those of most voters, but he has played his role well. He has a basic speech, outlined in his own block printing on three-by-five index cards which he shuffles and amends between engagements, so that his remarks are somewhat tailor-made for the special interest of each audience. The political public relations firm of Spencer-Roberts & Haffner has scheduled "citizen-politician" Reagan into the right places and fed him facts gleaned from private polls, friendly professors, disaffected state employees and hopeful businessmen. Reagan stubbornly translates the research to his three-by-five cards.

The script has changed little since the afternoon in Los Angeles last January when Reagan announced his candidacy: too much state government, too large relief rolls, too high state taxes, too much interference with the private-enterprise system, too little interference with the University of California. It is basically the same speech he gave hundreds of times during the 1950's as General Electric's handsome advocate of free enterprise. The words state government have been substituted for federal government; the figures are now in the hundreds of millions of dollars spent by California rather than the billions in the federal budget. The message about the evils of government is the same.

Reagan's major slip of the tongue this fall concerned civil rights. After an exhausting two days of campaigning, he talked offhandedly with reporters in the courtyard of a motel in Chico in northern California, and acknowledged that the federal government probably had a right to require open occupancy for housing it had helped to finance or for which it had guaranteed loans. With visions of the backlash vote staying home or even defecting to Brown, Reagan and his advisers spent a busy couple of days damping down that dangerous ad lib. They had read a private poll taken for Reagan, showing that in state legislator Unruh's blue-collar but white legislative district which is close to Watts, Unruh would get 75 percent of the vote, with Reagan receiving nearly 60 percent. Before the fear of black power, this was the kind of district that any Democratic candidate for governor could have easily carried. The California poll found that on a statewide basis Brown's support among blue-collar workers and white voters with low incomes had declined from more than 70 percent four years ago to less than 60 percent today. Both Democrats and Republicans have read backlash into figures such as these, and Reagan has drastically revised his last-minute schedule to get him into more working-class neighborhoods and outside more plants when shifts change. Workingmen and their wives hardly need to be told that Reagan opposed the 1964 and 1965 federal civil rights legislation and is against open-housing. Brown may now be wavering on open-housing, but he supported it two years ago in the Rumford Act referendum.

Reagan appeals to the basically apolitical voter who distrusts all politicians, thinks they have been in charge too long and have made a mess of things: taxes are too high, morality is too low, private enterprise can do it better, a man's home is his castle. Dwight Eisenhower and George Romney had considerably more political and managerial experience than Reagan would bring to Sacramento, but the Reagan image, his naïveté about the role of state and federal government in today's corporate world are like theirs. He looks strong, gives off a certain toughness and his voice is one of the most familiar and reassuring in the country.

California would be better off with a third Brown administration, tired as the governor and his aides are. Whatever his shortcomings as a leader, Brown has kept the state together in the face of a population increase of half a million a year. He has managed to keep the state university system abreast of the population explosion among college students. He has demonstrated some greatness by getting a $2-billion water program approved and by commissioning pioneering studies to see how the systems analysis approach used by the state's missile and aircraft industries could be applied to such social problems as the control of crime, the disposal of sewage and the collecting of statistics needed by government in seeking to forecast population trends. But what can Brown accomplish in four more years, ask the voters, that he hasn't been able to do during the last eight years?

What would – or could – Reagan do in four years? Whoever is elected governor is going to have to find more funds immediately to meet a state deficit. This means new taxes, or at least the juggling of old ones. The state is going to have to help Los Angeles, San Francisco and Oakland build better schools and find jobs and housing for Negroes and Mexican-Americans. It can't be done by cutting the budget, by arbitrarily

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reducing welfare rolls and payments or by preaching to the business community. The 2,000 immediate jobs promised to Hunter's Point Negroes by the San Francisco chamber of commerce the day after the riots turned out to be only 500 three weeks later.

California's desperate need for imaginative planning to prevent the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas from being choked by the smog, the automobile, the freeways, the urban sprawl, the helter-skelter industrialization means more not less government action. More money, not less, must be spent on the state's universities, colleges and schools. A Reagan administration, with little experience in state government and pledged to reduce spending, would be a prisoner of events. Reagan would be able to turn few clocks back, but he could damage the state by moving only most reluctantly and tardily when government action is demanded. However, that won't stop the old Goldwater coalition from immediately trying to make him the 1968 Republican presidential nominee.

Julius Duscha

Nigeria – the Pulling Apart of a Nation

Nsukka, East Nigeria
From a special correspondent

The coup of July 29, Nigeria's second within the year, destroyed the army as an instrument of national unity. There now seems no force remaining to prevent fragmentation of the country.

During his brief term as head of state following the end of civilian rule last January, General Aguiyi-Ironsi attempted to transform Nigeria into one nation. His own military failed him. The trouble with the army was not its tininess – some 8,000 men for a country of 55 million – but its internal divisions. Before it became involved in politics the army was considered the least tribal element in Nigeria, a real melting pot, especially for the young who could see beyond their ethnic origins to the task of modernizing the country. Once in power, however, the military, while projecting a brave image of solidarity, could not prevent its own disintegration. When the army went to war with itself in July, the fighting assumed a familiar tribal pattern: Hausas from the conservative, Islamic north versus elements from the aggressive, fast-developing east, particularly Ibos. No one speaks any longer of the Nigerian army, but only of the local forces.

There has been unprecedented violence. The worst attacks have been against the entrepreneurial Ibos resident in the immense northern region. The trouble began with rioting in May and June and has intensified since Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon succeeded Ironsi in the July coup. Truckloads of refugees arrive daily in Enugu, the eastern capital, with tales of dispossession and terror. No authoritative figures are available, but the dead since May number in the thousands.

The north and the east regions are most affected. Easterners who have been killed or driven off are the very people the north cannot do without, for they keep the economy going. Virtually all commercial activity among the Hausas, from shops and gas stations on up, has depended upon "strangers" – those from other Nigerian tribes. Public power, communications, finance, may all be crippled by the exodus of easterners, whose return to the east promises economic disruption and dislocation there too.

Constitutional talks have been held in Lagos, but they seem futile; local conditions have become nightmarish. Aware that the north cannot do without them, Lt. Col. Gowon recently ordered federal employees back to their posts, declaring that "life has returned to normal in the affected areas." It hasn't.

Now that unitary government has failed, the cry is for federalism. But if the center is given much power, we may again see the pattern of post-independence civilian rule, with murderous coalitions forming against all opposition. Strong regional governments, on the other hand, would create problems of their own, for most of the regions are as fragmented as the country which comprises them. Wounded by the "incidents" in the north and confident of its economic viability, the east has been talking loudest about going it alone. But fantasies of secession or semi-autonomy must be balanced against the very real (though often denied) hostility of "minority areas." In the east this means the non-Ibo parts of the region, which account for 40 percent of the population and much of the famed oil deposits. The minorities prefer a strong national government to a strong eastern one, which would threaten them with the Ibo domination they have long resisted. Thus any attempt by the east to pull away from the center will intensify its internal divisions.

For years Nigeria was the darling of western diplomats who pointed happily to its alleged multi-party democracy; it remains to be seen what view of the country will emerge from the disillusionment. In western minds, and in some Nigerian ones as well, the specter of the Congo is an abiding presence: vigilante bands have sprung up and elements of the army have spun out of control. With good fortune, the Nigerian ability to improvise may restore effective government, but the damage done is considerable and the bitterness widespread. Like so many countries, African and otherwise, Nigeria is struggling to define itself; the struggle will be long and painful.

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The East-of-Suez Defense Debate

Mr. Wilson under Fire

London

Britain will spend about $6 billion this coming year on defense, and almost $1 billion of this will go to maintain bases and forces in the Middle and Far East. With 90,000 men based mainly in Singapore and Aden and backed by about 350 planes and 70 ships, British forces can operate over an area from Egypt to Indonesia. But in a period of recurrent economic crisis, the country's defense role "east of Suez" is a prime target for retrenchment. The Wilson Labour government intends to quit the Aden base by 1968. It has said it will cut defense spending to about $5.6 billion by 1969. In the Indian Ocean, island air-strips are to replace aircraft carriers. The government intends to stay in Singapore as long as it can, but is looking to Australia for a fallback base. Britain's opposition Conservative Party envisages Britain as a fourth member of the Australia-New Zealand-United States defense pact (ANZUS).

But Britain's defense role in the world is attacked by both Conservative and Labour party critics as still too large. Enoch Powell, a Conservative MP, and his party's wayward defense spokesman, has hinted that an "east-of-Suez" role is an irrelevance to Britain and a nuisance to Asians and Africans. The Labour critics of Harold Wilson's defense policy are led by two former cabinet ministers, Frank Cousins the powerful labor-union leader, and Christopher Mayhew who was navy minister. Cousins rallies the party's left wing, Mayhew can pull in supporters from the right wing.

Up till now, Wilson's explanation to his own ranks has dwelt on the notion of Britain's overseas forces as a kind of UN substitute, doing what the UN would if only it could. As an earnest of this, the Labour government has pledged logistic support for up to six battalions to the UN should the UN ever want it. But Labour critics are convinced that clinging to the east-of-Suez position even in the face of economic adversity can only be a quid pro quo for American support for the pound. If that were strictly true, a withdrawal east of Suez would lead to a withdrawal of American financial support, and probably the pound's devaluation, but the critics would rather risk this than stay on as a junior partner of a US heavily involved in Vietnam.

This is the view of Cousins and the Labour left, and also of Mayhew and a handful of members on Labour's right. Mayhew mounts a four-point attack on government policy: too few men and too few resources; dependence on the United States; danger of being sucked into actions alien to British policies and interests; involvement of white nations in Asia and the Middle East is unnatural, an accident of history and an anachronism. To any suggestion that Britain's departure might leave Asia at the mercy of China he answers that Britain cannot by herself check China and that Asian countries will not learn how to handle China until western withdrawal forces them to.

Enoch Powell, too, expects the question of Asian stability to be solved in the long run by the emergence of countervailing forces, and suspects that the presence of western troops puts off that day. For Powell, defense is in the first place quite simply the defense of the British Isles, and that means being ready to handle any threat that may arise in Europe. For the moment, Powell has been disciplined, but both inside and outside the Conservative Party his views have respect.

There is also the pull of the Common Market. Neither main political party expects entry into the Common Market overnight, but the Conservatives openly and the government diffidently are looking for an opportunity to negotiate. If Britain's future really lies in Europe, the case for patrolling east of Suez is further weakened.

The desire to sustain an unpopular case against mounting criticism has led to Britain's east-of-Suez exercise often being justified in terms of what it palpably is not, as a protective cover for commercial interests, a major force in its own right, a bulwark against Asian communism, or alternatively as a check on America. What it actually is – and this is what the official line sooner or later will have to own up to – is a modest force of reasonable mobility, born largely of decaying colonialist ties and existing to give aid and assistance to such friends and allies as the government chooses. Being too small to "keep the peace" throughout the area, it can only keep peace piecemeal.

Some Asian and African countries continue to look to Britain. Singapore may require help. Kenya and Tanzania might repeat their 1964 call for military assistance. Africa and Asia are the most chaotic and disturbed of the continents of the world, and limited force judiciously applied may occasionally halt a conflict and limit the death-toll. But British commitments will continue to be checked and cross-checked, and the east-of-Suez forces will be pared back. The government and the Conservative leaders are agreed that there should not be what Wilson calls a scuttle. Nevertheless, as William Clark recently wrote in the London *Times*, "The view of the ordinary informed Australian [and New Zealander?] is that, regrettably, Britain is having to withdraw completely from east of Suez and . . . her loyal dominions . . . have taken the hint and reinsured with America for defense by a down payment in Vietnam."

BRIAN WENHAM

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Eyes Right

by Richard Dudman

A new, privately financed cold-war academy got off to an optimistic start the other day, but its future prospects seem less definite than the echoes it stirs from the past. This private-enterprise "West Point of psycho-political warfare," as it calls itself, has opened shop on a 671-acre hilltop estate in Virginia looking out toward the hazy wall of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

Not much is doing there so far. The proprietors have built a new road, spread gravel on a big parking lot that was used in dedication ceremonies a few weeks ago, erected some tasteful blue-and-white signs and conducted one four-day seminar for 28 congressional aides. Still to be seen on the blackboard in the lecture room is a diagram showing two rows of arrows clashing head-on – one labeled "US" and the other "USSR." The "faculty" for that first seminar included Allen W. Dulles, Dr. Eleanor L. Dulles, Dr. Walter Judd and Edgar Ansel Mowrer. Another early step has been to put out an invitation for contributions, with the word that gifts will be tax deductible and that major contributors will have their names inscribed in bronze in the reception hall of the Manor. The center seeks $11 million and has raised about $800,000.

For the future, they look forward to constructing a multi-million-dollar campus capable of handling 400 resident students, who would study cold-war strategy at the center and obtain masters' degrees and doctorates at cooperating universities. The center, says a brochure, "will be a continuing source of expert advice and counsel to students after they leave, and to institutions and leaders throughout the Free World. This will include the organization of advisory teams upon request for Free World governments."

There have been some setbacks. Officials of the center got a cold shoulder from the Brookings Institution when they sought to add that prestigious organization to their list of cooperating agencies. Senator William Proxmire had second thoughts about the center and asked that his name be removed from the advisory board. Another board member, also listed as a director, Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois, recalled telling the president of the center that he would be glad to help in any way he could, but the governor could find nothing in his files to show that he had accepted any appointment. On the other hand, he told a press conference, he could see nothing wrong with alerting people to the threat of communism.

Although the Pentagon helped out with the dedication, a certain restraint was evident. High-ranking military officers flew over by helicopter for the occasion – Lt. Gen. J. L. Throckmorton, the army's director of special studies; Lt. Gen. J. G. Merrell, the air force comptroller, and R. Adm. James F. Calvert, director of the navy's political-military policy division – but it was made clear that their presence was a mere formality and that the Joint Chiefs of Staff had declined an invitation. There also was a Pentagon color guard, as well as a 20-piece section of the Navy Band.

Coolness toward the Freedom Studies Center is traceable to the identity of the men who took it up as a successor to the Freedom Academy, a projected government institution that was opposed by the State Department and never won congressional approval.

Organizers of the center are some of the same men whose anti-communist rallies and seminars in 1960 and 1961 caused a controversy over the entry of military men into political disputes. The trouble broke when the main speaker at a "fourth dimensional warfare seminar" in Pittsburgh denounced Adlai E. Stevenson and George F. Kennan, then ambassador to Yugoslavia, as some of President Kennedy's advisers whose philosophies on foreign affairs would "chill the typical American." After a series of similar outbursts, the Kennedy administration became alarmed and began restricting military participation in such meetings. Senator Strom Thurmond charged that the military men were being "muzzled," and Senator John Stennis conducted lengthy hearings, concluding that the forums and seminars were all right in themselves but needed "quality control," especially in selecting speakers.

The controversial rallies and forums grew out of a two-week cold-war strategy seminar, held in 1959 at the National War College and sponsored by the Reserve Officers Association and the Institute for American Strategy, which now is the operator of the Freedom Studies Center. That 1959 seminar was financed by the Richardson Foundation, also a supporter of the Institute for American Strategy. Graduates fanned out to lead a series of meetings sponsored or assisted by the armed forces and relying heavily on speakers associated with the institute or its sister organization, the American Security Council.

President and executive officer of the new center in

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Virginia – and the man who sought to establish innocence by association with the Brookings Institution – is John M. Fisher, who is also president of the Institute of American Strategy and the American Security Council. He is a former FBI agent who joined the American Security Council in 1961, after eight years as a "corporate security" specialist for Sears, Roebuck & Co. The council had been formed in 1955 to operate a loyalty-security blacklist where employers could check their employees and applicants for employment for reported leftist connections. Fisher has said that the blacklist has more than a million names, including those from the files of Harry Jung, publisher of a right-wing newspaper called *The American Vigilante* early in World War II. Fisher tried unsuccessfully to get the files of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, but McCarthy's widow gave them instead to Marquette University.

A member of the planning and development committee of the Freedom Studies Center is Frank J. Johnson, foreign editor of the American Security Council's *Washington Report*. Johnson once proposed that the United States liberate Albania, to show Nikita Khrushchev "that we intend to create plenty of trouble for him in his own back yard." Vice presidents of the center include Robert W. Galvin, a member of the American Security Council's senior advisory board, and John G. Sevcik, a vice president of the council.

Directors of the center include Senators Thomas J. Dodd and Karl Mundt; Patrick J. Frawley Jr., chairman of the board of Eversharp, Inc., a chief financial backer of Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, head of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade; and Gen. Robert E. Wood, retired chairman of the Board of Sears, Roebuck, and a frequent backer of right-wing causes.

Although no military officers on active duty appear as officials of the new center, the organizers have been successful in enlisting two highly placed civilian officials who deal with national security affairs. Dr. Myron Blee, deputy director of the Office of Emergency Planning, part of the Executive Office of the President, is a member of the board of directors and co-chairman of the Educational Advisory Committee. Dr. Lynn M. Bartlett, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Education, is on the Educational Advisory Committee.

The center lists Maj. Gen. Edward Geary Lansdale, USAF (Ret.), as its administrative director, now "on leave of absence while serving as US Minister to Vietnam." Lansdale, a pacification specialist, is a special assistant to Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge with personal rank of minister. It lists 15 senators, 38 representatives and 12 governors, including Romney and Hatfield, as members of its advisory board.

Whether or not the center can achieve its dream is too early to say. Government cooperation, in making available speakers and information, would seem to be essential. It is not clear yet, however, whether the Johnson administration will look upon the center as a partner in its efforts to contain China or an opponent in its efforts to reach accommodation with the Soviet Union and eventually with China.

At any rate, the center has the benefit of the experience of Gen. Barksdale Hamlet, USA (Ret.), now co-chairman of its Educational Advisory Committee. As vice chief of staff of the army, the General was a principal witness in Senator Stennis' hearings on the muzzling of the military. As he neared the end of his testimony in 1962, General Hamlet made this observation: "Regardless of the means adopted, I feel that a continuing and vital need exists to keep the American public fully alert to the ever-present threat of communism. . . . But I do think that we must be very careful. There is one thing that we all know – the military just can't become mixed up in political issues, either local or international."

Finding Jobs for the Poor

by Edward Moscovitch

The war on poverty has shown disappointing results in finding jobs for the slum-dwellers of our large cities. This is the conclusion one draws from a summer of visiting anti-poverty programs and talking to job placement counselors in Atlanta, San Francisco, Chicago, and Detroit. To understand why and what can be done about it, one has to understand the structure of the anti-poverty effort.

Each city, county, or group of counties has its own community action agency. Some are part of city government; others are independent, non-profit agencies. All get some 90 percent of their funds from the Office

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of Economic Opportunity, but retain a good deal of local initiative in designing and administering programs. Their main function so far has been to set up a network of neighborhood service centers in slum areas. A corps of workers, themselves poor, has been hired and trained to go door-to-door in the target areas to encourage people to come to the neighborhood centers to get help.

Most of the people coming into these centers (75-90 percent) feel that getting a job is their number one need. They are referred to employment counselors in the center.

With what result? Only 15 to 25 percent of those seeking employment are placed in jobs. And half of those who are placed are put in jobs paying wages too low to lift them out of their poverty. The OEO official definition of poverty for an urban family of five to six members is $3,500 to $4,000 per year. At fifty 40-hour weeks, this means that any job which pays less than $1.75 to $2 per hour can be considered a poverty job.

The 15 to 25 percent placement rate is surprisingly uniform throughout the cities I have visited, with the exception of Detroit. There, the neighborhood centers are not now dealing with adult job placement, but counselors at those centers felt that a large percentage of men from these neighborhoods (but not women) could be placed in good jobs. According to *Newsweek*, however, in a recent effort to hire the poor in Detroit, only 3,500 of the 18,000 people interviewed were actually placed in jobs despite the fact that the automobile companies had agreed as part of this program to lower their employment standards. In all the individual centers I saw in the other cities, the 15 to 25 percent range prevailed for both men and women. The experience of other agencies, such as the Urban League, which deal with jobless poor, has been similar.

Behind this low placement rate lie the disappointed hopes that are hard to describe. A typical case in Atlanta would be a young Negro mother, with no husband or whose husband is working for very low wages, who had heard of the new program and decided that this was her chance. When she comes in, she says that she wants factory work, even though she has probably never seen the inside of a factory. Why? Because to her, a new start – an escape from poverty – means a new kind of work. She doesn't just want a job, she wants a job which offers her dignity and enough money to support her family of four or five children. A job in some other woman's kitchen, or making beds, or sweeping corridors at night – that is not a new start. That kind of menial labor (a job as chambermaid in a new Atlanta hotel pays about $35 per week – $1,750 per year) is what is now available to her at the state employment service.

When the counselor has to say, "I'm sorry, we have no factory work for you," it means she must go back to the relief rolls or to an underpaid menial job.

It would be wrong to blame this low placement rate on the employment and the local poverty programs. But the fear that people will draw such conclusions has prevented these local agencies from publicizing their results, thereby putting pressure on those in a position to improve the situation.

The employment counselors in neighborhood centers, whether employees of state employment services or of the community action agencies themselves, devote considerably more energy to the placement problems of the poor than do the employer and middle-class-oriented regular offices of the state employment services. Unlike those regular offices, which generally limit themselves to the referrals in their files, the counselors in the poverty centers actively seek jobs for applicants.

Why then are they failing? Because they are trying to fit the poor, as they are, into the job market, as it is.

Employing the Unemployable

Despite the shortage of labor, employers are still reluctant to take those with no job skill, with no record of steady job experience, with less than an eighth or twelfth grade education, with the inability to pass an aptitude test, or with a police record. These problems are all compounded by discrimination, for in big cities the neighborhood centers are dealing primarily with Negroes and Latins. Many slum schools are so bad that it is not unusual for employment counselors to have young people with high school diplomas who cannot pass job-qualifying tests. The refusal of employers to hire young Negroes just finishing school means that many older Negro men looking for jobs have no record of steady employment. One office in Chicago reported that any able-bodied Negro with a good work history could be placed in a non-poverty position, but only 10 percent of those coming in had such a record. An employer is much more likely to overlook a police record or the lack of steady work experience in a white than a Negro. Jobs which take the unskilled and train them on the job are too often closed to Negroes.

Take the steel companies along the Indiana harbor. Labor was so scarce that the companies actually requested that busloads of slum dwellers from the South Side of Chicago be sent out to be looked over for jobs. Few were hired, because the companies refused to take men with police records, even though they were able to do the work. One neighborhood center in Chicago

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offered to place a full-time liaison man in the plant, at its expense, to help the company deal with any incidents these men might provoke, but to no avail. To grow up in the Negro ghettos in Chicago is to have a police record, and thus be kept out of many non-poverty jobs, even in a tight labor market.

Many jobs are beginning to open up in suburban areas as industry moves out of the city. But counselors in Chicago and Detroit told me of job orders they could not fill, because the jobs were outside the reach of the cities' public transportation systems, and were therefore inaccessible to those in the slums. And, of course, the housing around those new suburban factories is largely closed to Negroes.

Training for Available Work

Placing the disadvantaged in jobs is of course related to the over-all level of unemployment, as was shown dramatically during World War II when the so-called "unemployables" were hired. This summer's experience suggests, however, that the response to a drop in unemployment may not be very large – those low placement rates in Atlanta and Chicago were despite unemployment rates in those cities of about 2.5 percent. Whether we could find non-poverty employment for the poor by pushing to lower unemployment is in any case an academic question. For at the present rate of just under four percent unemployed, national concern is centered more on quieting inflation than on reducing unemployment.

At any foreseeable rates of unemployment, then, efforts to help the poor will have to be concentrated on training them to make them more acceptable to employers. Until now, efforts to break the so-called "poverty-cycle," whereby one generation of poor parents raises another generation, have been concentrated on young people – especially those just approaching school age. I doubt whether we can succeed unless something is done to clear the atmosphere of hopelessness which envelops a slum in which many families are on relief, and those not on relief are supported by men working at low-paying, menial jobs. It would do so much more for a child by giving his father (or mother) a decent job – and the feeling of usefulness and self-confidence which goes with it – than it does to give that child a couple of summers of reading and museum tours, however useful the latter. The poor themselves know this, as indicated by the overwhelming numbers coming into the centers in hope of finding work.

An increasing emphasis is being placed on job-training programs. Congress has authorized close to $800 million for programs involving direct employment of the poor. Although actual expenditures may be somewhat less than this, between a third and a half of all OEO money ($1.6 billion) will be spent for this purpose. This is in addition to employment of neighborhood people in the actual operation of the local poverty centers.

Nevertheless, the amount of money available, however spent, is hopelessly inadequate. To see this, let us review the three main approaches to raising the job skills of the poor: having the government train them in schools or other public training courses; having the government subsidize private training of them on the job; and having the government hire the poor and offer them on-the-job training while they work.

The main examples of the first approach are the Job Corps for young people and the institutional training run by the Labor Department and HEW under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA). One main problem with the latter program is that a large part of the funds goes to trainees who are not poor, partly because many of the poor are excluded from the program by their failure to pass qualifying exams. If standards are lowered, the training period must be lengthened and costs per trainee will rise. Funds for this purpose are not available in the Vietnam budget squeeze. Even a very successful job-training program in Detroit is having its allotment cut back. A second difficulty with the institutional training approach is that it has had a very high dropout rate; close to 40 to 50 percent of those who enter the program fail to complete the course. Some drop out when they find work, but others do so because there is no guarantee of a job after they have completed the course, and many of the poor have no confidence in education as a road out of poverty.

On-the-job-training, also funded under MDTA, attempts to solve this motivational problem by having employers hire trainees and then give them a suitable training course while they are working. In return, the employer is paid a stipend of up to $25 per week per trainee. Although this may be more appealing to the poor, who are hired first and then trained, its big drawback is that employers select the participants, and employers tend to avoid the poor. A prior period in the Neighborhood Youth Corps, or a concomitant period of publicly financed basic education may overcome this reluctance, but, like similar efforts under institutional training, these require hard-to-find funds.

These training programs, administered mainly through the Labor Department, are not tied directly to the neighborhood poverty centers and have their own screening procedures. There is no assurance that there will be enough training slots for those who can't find jobs through the local centers, or that the existing slots will be reserved for these people. A hopeful development is that the Labor Department is making many of the local poverty agencies the prime contrac-

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tors in administering some on-the-job training.

The third method for upgrading the poor is to hire them directly. They can be hired first and then trained, and can be given non-menial positions, as assistants to teachers, nurses, policemen, recreation leaders, gardeners, building inspectors, rat exterminators, or even plumbers, carpenters, and electricians repairing slum housing. In addition to training these new workers, this program enables hiring agencies to increase their services to the community. One example is the Neighborhood Youth Corps; another is the use of the poor by the poverty program itself. The hiring of slum people to perform a host of useful tasks in the neighborhood centers has been quite successful, and anyone who has talked to these workers cannot help being impressed by the obvious change in their outlook. Some have been been offered regular jobs in other government agencies; others are signing up for adult education courses. Many of these jobs do not offer skills relevant to the private labor market. Nonetheless, the experience itself – the chance to give a previous employment reference – may be enough to open doors previously closed.

How much do these programs cost? Institutional training under MDTA costs $1,700 per trainee without a remedial education component, and $2,300 with it. On-the-job training is much cheaper for the government – $600 per trainee – because the private employer pays most of the costs. Nonetheless, the remedial education or the prior period in public employment necessary to make the poor acceptable to employers will raise the cost to between $1,500 and $2,500 per trainee. Current expenditure on these programs is $400 million, but a large share of it goes to the non-poor. Perhaps half of the $400 million spent for the disadvantaged provides training for 150,000 people a year. Public employment would cost about $5,000 per person per year.

How many people might need help under these programs? An OEO publication entitled *Dimensions of Poverty* indicated that in 1964 there were seven million families living in poverty that were headed by an individual under 65. Given proper day care and medical facilities, this means there were at least seven million potential candidates for some kind of job upgrading. Not all of them have to have direct assistance; if a significant number are trained, employers of unskilled, low-wage labor will be faced with shortages and will have to raise wages. Nurses' aides and car washers will find their salaries increased.

Each year, between 600,000 and 800,000 young people raised by these poor families will enter the job market. Many will find good jobs on their way, but many others will need some kind of help. It is hard to predict how many adults and young people will need job-training assistance. One reasonable guess might be that half in each category would need help – 3.5 million adults and 350,000 young people per year. If the adult training needs were spread over a ten-year period – achieving Sargent Shriver's goal of celebrating 1976 by the elimination of poverty – we would then have a training requirement of about 700,000 people per year. The exact cost of this training would depend on the mixture of training programs selected. It would be many times the amount we are spending today.

Who Gets in the Army?

by Daniel P. Moynihan

If the Selective Service System did not exist, it would be impossible to invent it. There are now some 4,088 local draft boards throughout the country staffed by upwards of 38,000 volunteers, including almost 8,000 medical advisers, with only a tiny cadre of career officers. The system processes 170,000 registrants each month and keeps tab on nearly 31 million men. Through much of its history, the decisions the boards have been required to make have been almost, by definition, arbitrary and unfair, but the system works. The world is unjust; most people know this and, perceiving the impartiality of the injustice meted out by the draft boards, accept the decisions.

There is something peculiar about American intellectuals and academics that they have shown almost no interest in the subject. The experience of prolonged peace-time conscription is virtually unexamined as a

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significant aspect of American life. Even now, one may be confident that theses are being planned on the Ethico-Religious Origins of Draft Card Burning as an Existential Act of Witness. (As well there should be.) But the draft itself continues as an object of scholarly unconcern with just perhaps a touch of distaste added to the indifference. The price paid for this is that we have failed to perceive the potential of the Selective Service System as an instrument of social analysis and change. There have been and presumably there will continue to be a fairly steady output of proposals for eliminating the present system and replacing it with something different and better. But there has been little interest in the potential of the system as it now exists for achieving large and important things. Two Presidents have tried to arouse such interest, but without success. However, the recent disclosure in the HEW publication, *American Education*, that 67.5 percent of Negroes are failing these Selective Service mental tests could raise the issue once more, and possibly in a more favorable climate. In one sentence, the implication of the statistic is this: The American armed forces, having become an immensely potent instrument for education and occupational mobility, have been systematically excluding the least educated, least mobile young men.

The Selective Service Screen

Government awareness of the importance of the Selective Service System as a gauge of social problems, such as poverty and discrimination, goes back to the summer of 1963. The Kennedy legislative program was dead in the water. The confrontation with the steel companies in the spring had critically affected attitudes in Congress and in the nation. The nation was drawing apart, choosing sides again. The stalemate that had locked most social legislation for nearly a generation was settling in once more after the brief thaw of the 87th Congress. Some dramatic device was needed to argue the urgency of such measures as the Youth Employment Act – once again, S.1 in the Senate, but clearly headed for defeat in the House. Moreover, the administrators of programs that had been enacted in the preceding two years were beginning to encounter difficulty in making contact with those individuals for whom the programs were designed. Thus, while two-thirds of the unemployed had not graduated from high school, two-thirds of those signing up for the Manpower Development and Training Program, enacted the previous year, had done so.

In this context, the director of the Selective Service System (a four-year extension of the program having been approved in Congress in the spring with scarcely a word of debate), issued his annual report announcing that, as usual, 50 percent of the persons called up for pre-induction examinations in 1962 had been rejected for failing the mental or physical tests or both. The announcement merited two inches at most in *The Washington Post*, but an idea flashed in the policy planning staff of the Department of Labor: Either there was something wrong with that statistic or something the matter with the country. It was a question worth examining. The Selective Service System was (and is) the only screen through which all male Americans must pass. It clearly was the place to pick up those who weren't making it, who needed the kinds of help the administration's programs were designed to provide.

On inquiry, the Defense Department turned out to know more about the situation than was being made public (*e.g.*, that 56 percent of Negroes were failing the mental test). But much less than one would wish. Because the manpower pool then was more than sufficient for the needs of the armed forces, the Defense Department had not felt pressured to examine why over 50 percent of those youths called in had failed to meet its standards. Clearly though, a systematic inquiry was needed. This was proposed to the White House. On September 30, 1963, President Kennedy established a Task Force on Manpower Conservation made up of the directors of the Selective Service System and the secretaries of Defense, HEW, and Labor, with the latter as chairman. The presidential directive was simple enough: "The Selective Service System provides for us a unique opportunity to identify those young men in our nation who – for reasons of education or health, or both – are not equipped to play their part in society. So far, we have been wasting this opportunity. The youths are examined, rejected and sent home – and no more. The time has come – in view of the ever-rising education and training standards required for employment, and the ever-rising rate of youth unemployment . . . to consider what greater use might be made of the opportunity and information the Selective Service System provides."

The task force considered the medical and mental aspects of Selective Service separately. The situation in the former was not unfamiliar. A majority of the medical rejectees were manifestly victims of inadequate education and insufficient health services. Most such rejectees needed medical attention and very few were made aware of it. Persons with the most horrendous ailments were simply being rejected without a word of advice or comment: No socialized medicine in the armed forces. Further examination of this problem revealed that the Public Health Service was experimenting with techniques for referring rejectees to local medical care. The logical course for the task force was to propose that this be extended, a program now slowly taking effect.

The principal interest of the task force focused on the mental rejectees. The Armed Forces Qualifications

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Test is a direct and validated measure of ability to perform. It cuts off at about the seventh or eighth grade level of schooling, but it is neither an intelligence test nor yet one of education: The object of the test is simply to determine whether a person will work out as a soldier. But as the President has pointed out, "A young man who does not have what it takes to perform military services, is not likely to have what it takes to make a living." A national sample of 2,500 recent rejectees was assembled and interviewed. The result was a startling profile of poverty in the 60's.

These were young men already in trouble. Four out of five were dropouts. One in 10 had a court record. Three-quarters worked in unskilled, semi-skilled or service jobs. Their unemployment rate (28 percent) was four times that of their age group. Moreover, they came from families in trouble: Twenty-one percent came from families that had received public assistance in the preceding five years, 31 percent came from families broken by divorce or separation. *But the single most dramatic fact to emerge was that 47 percent came from families with six or more children.* A tiny fraction of all families, producing only 11 percent of all children in the United States, was producing half the mental rejectees. Seven out of 10 rejectees came from families with four or more children. The ethnic ratio was askew and so was the regional one. Where only 3.6 percent of the youths called up in the state of Washington failed the qualifications test, 51.8 percent of those from South Carolina failed. To be raised in the South was bad; to be raised in a large Southern family, worse; to be raised in a large Southern Negro family . . . these young men were headed nowhere – *and they knew it as the interviews showed.* Because draft calls were low, the age of examination was approximately 22 to 23, four or five years above the legal draft age. The task force estimated that if an entire age cohort were to be examined at age 18, one in three would fail to meet the medical or mental standards or both.

That task force report, *One-Third of a Nation*, was submitted to President Johnson, January 1, 1964. He accepted the principal recommendation that as soon as possible all youths turning 18, out of school and otherwise available for service, be examined to learn who would be rejected, and to refer them to manpower conservation units in the US Employment Service, "to draw on the full spectrum of available services . . . such as manpower development and training, vocational education, and vocational rehabilitation."

The task force report was an important document in shaping the poverty program and probably influenced the decision to incorporate into it the Youth Employment Act which emerged as Title I. (Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps.) Selective Service rejectees are specifically mentioned in the Economic Opportunity Act. However, in December 1965, the 18-year-old testing program was quietly discontinued.

The poverty program was an effort to find ways to do something about the situation of Negro Americans under a more inclusive heading, which would permit the support or acquiescence of Southern congressmen and political leaders. (That there were millions of whites who would also benefit from the program was simply an added argument.)

The Selective Service Study had made it clear enough that perhaps the largest single area of *de facto* job discrimination (lacking a better word) faced by Negroes is – the armed forces. Negroes were simply not getting in because of the testing standards. In the Third Army Area, roughly the Old Confederacy, 67.7 percent of Negroes failed the mental test alone. Obviously, volunteers ran into the same difficulty. Representing 12 percent of the population, Negroes made up eight percent of the armed forces. The power of these ratios is hardly to be overestimated. If, in 1964, Negroes had had their proportion of the service and the number of their males unemployed was correspondingly reduced, and had the reverse process occurred for whites, the unemployment rate for non-white males in the relevant age group would have been *lower* than that for whites. The argument for increasing the Negro representation in the armed forces was immensely persuasive. For one thing there was a clear interest among Negroes in such careers, as compared to what they perceive as their other options (Negroes in the army have a fantastic reenlistment rate, 49 percent; one army sergeant in six is Negro.) The next step in the logic of the task force report would have been to systematically increase the Negro's share of military employment. That this has not happened is one of the ironies, and in a small way one of the tragedies of the politics of the past two years.

McNamara's Initiative

The Defense Department was at first decidedly reluctant to have anyone messing around with the service – their disposition, thanks be to God, is not to do good. However, the revelation of what the lower third of American youths were like, had an extraordinary impact. It was not unlike the impact of the discoveries the English made about themselves after conscription was introduced during World War I. In 1964, Secretary McNamara proposed that he be allowed to induct a limited number of persons who failed to meet the mental standards, and see if they could not be brought up to standards. There was a solid precedent for thinking this could be done, based on experience with 303,000 such persons inducted after manpower grew short in World War II. (Department of Labor demonstration

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projects have since added to this evidence.) The proposal, however, got nowhere in the armed services committees; explanations were not offered, but it is fair to suppose that the concern for impoverished Negroes behind the proposal was plain to the Southerners who control the committees and that the advantages of military service to Negroes were known. (Look what came of letting James Meredith into the air force.)

Civil rights groups were never much interested in the subject anyway, but as war mounted in Asia, they became, if anything, suspicious. There is, of course, a deep pacifist element in the civil rights movement which would not wish to be associated with violence on any terms. More ominously, the political left which had associated itself with the movement now began to present its due bills: To be against the war in Vietnam became yet another test of true allegiance to the cause of the Negro.

Negroes are concentrated in the combat infantry type unit that is naturally the subject of much TV coverage from the battle zones. At the end of last year, the latest count available, Negroes made up 15 percent of army personnel in Vietnam and accounted for 18 percent of army casualties (22 percent of enlisted casualties). But altogether, Negroes make up only 12.5 percent of the forces in Vietnam – about their proportion of the age groups involved, and only 9.5 percent of the over-all strength of the armed forces.

History may record that the single most important psychological event in race relations in the 1960's was the appearance of Negro fighting men on the TV screens of the nation. Acquiring a reputation for military valor is one of the oldest known routes to social equality – from the Catholic Irish in the Mexican war to the Japanese-American Purple Heart Division of World War II. Moreover, as employment pure and simple, the armed forces have much to offer men with the limited current options of, say, Southern Negroes. By rights, Negroes are entitled to a larger share of employment in the armed forces and might well be demanding one. Yet when Secretary McNamara went to Montreal to announce that he was going to enlist rejectees anyway, Adam Clayton Powell cried, "racist."

A Lost Generation?

When Congress enacted a peace-time GI Bill retroactive to 1965 – a massive transfer of public support away from the poorest segment of the population to a relatively well-off one – liberal spokesmen were silent. There ought to have been such a bill, but its passage ought also to have given rise to widespread insistence that if this is going to be done for non-poor whites and Negroes, then the poverty program appropriations ought at the same time to be increased – which is hardly what happened.

If there is to be any change it is likely to come from the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, established by the President in July under the direction of Burke Marshall. One may hope this time we take a longer look at the rejection figure. There are now new statistics reporting the experience of the 18-year-olds who began to be tested in July 1964, which certainly confirm the findings in *One-Third of a Nation*, and suggest matters may indeed be worse. The task force estimated that a "true" mental rejection rate – *i.e.*, if all members of the age group were called up and examined at the same time – would be 16.3 percent, and that stiffer standards then being imposed might raise it as high as 20 percent. Now, however, it appears that the rejection rate for the 383,000 18-year-olds examined during the period July 1964-December 1965, was 25.3 percent. These young men were only a fifth of the age group involved, but may have been more representative than was thought. It may be that the task force was wrong in deflating the 1962 rejection ratings. The "true" rates may be as high or even higher. In the 18-year-old group, 19 percent of whites and 68 percent of Negroes failed the mental test. These are exactly the rates which the task force found for 22- to 23-year-olds in the Third Army Area in 1962. The current 18-year-old rejection rates in the South are horrendous: For Negroes, 86 percent in South Carolina, 85 percent in Mississippi, 71 percent in Tennessee, 79 percent in Georgia. But they are not so much better elsewhere: 54 percent in New York, 56 percent in Illinois, 49 percent in California. White rates are no more reassuring: 44 percent in Tennessee, 38 percent in Kentucky, 28 percent in Hawaii. Clearly, the place to send children to public schools is the state of Washington or Minnesota (but not necessarily Negro children – the mental rejection rate is 25 percent in the former and 37 percent in the latter.) One-quarter is the lowest Negro rate anywhere.

The Defense Department has not yet released any but the raw statistics and has not made clear how they are to be interpreted. But I would hold that a whole generation of poor Negroes and whites are missing their chance to get in touch with the American society. Once they pass through and beyond the Selective Service screen they are very near gone for good in terms of the opportunuity to become genuinely functioning, self-sufficient individuals. Civil rights as an issue is fading. The poverty program is heading for dismemberment and decline. Expectations of what can be done in America are receding. Very possibly our best hope is seriously to use the armed forces as a socializing experience for the poor – particularly the Southern poor – until somehow their environment begins turning out equal citizens.

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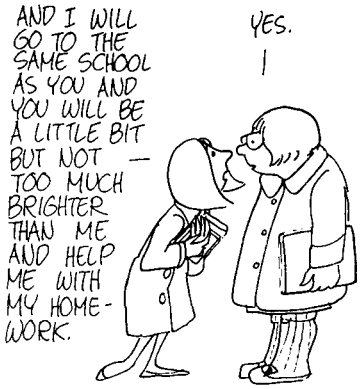
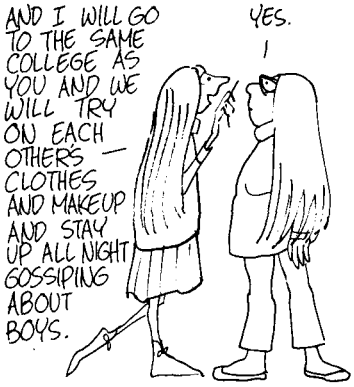
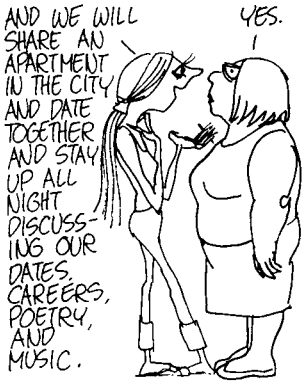
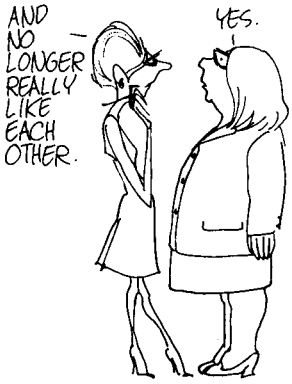
JULES FEIFFER

WHO I WILL MEET IN CHILDHOOD AND YOU WILL BE 3 MONTHS OLDER THAN ME AND TEACH ME TO BE — FRIENDS WITH ALL THE KIDS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD.
YES.


AND I WILL GO TO THE SAME SCHOOL AS YOU AND YOU WILL BE A LITTLE BIT BUT NOT — TOO MUCH BRIGHTER THAN ME AND HELP ME WITH MY HOME-WORK.
YES.


AND I WILL GO TO THE SAME COLLEGE AS YOU AND WE WILL TRY ON EACH OTHER'S — CLOTHES AND MAKEUP AND STAY UP ALL NIGHT GOSSIPING ABOUT BOYS.
YES.


AND WE WILL SHARE AN APARTMENT IN THE CITY AND DATE TOGETHER AND STAY UP ALL NIGHT DISCUSS-ING OUR DATES, CAREERS, POETRY, AND MUSIC.
YES.



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STANLEY KAUFFMANN *The Business of Books*

The history of literature has one major difference from most of the other arts. From the beginnings of the theatre, music, painting and sculpture, the state or the state religion or the aristocracy sponsored the artist. The businessman in those arts is a relatively recent phenomenon; it is only within the last 300 years or so that the theatrical producer and music impresario and art dealer have appeared. Not so in literature. Writers have often been subsidized, but books have always been a business. By 1450 Gutenberg had perfected his invention in Germany; in 1472 the first publishing company was formed in Italy.

From the start, book-publishing has been a prime instance of what Max Weber called the Protestant ethic: to serve God by making money. (Indeed, Weber used an American publisher, Benjamin Franklin, as his quintessential example.) All publishers have always had to make a profit, except subsidized presses; and the merit of each house has been judged by the degree to which it made a profit with books that were considered good. However, although many a publisher has had to quit because he could not find profitable books, we never hear of one who quit because he could not find good books.

Book-publishing in any country is a microcosm of its socio-cultural history. In the United States, as Charles A. Madison's new book* demonstrates, publishing has followed the pattern of American literature itself and of our theatre: by virtue of the common language, England was both main source and model. "Most books were imported from England until the Revolution," Madison notes, and even after the establishment of American publishing, English books continued to dominate American lists. Since international copyright did not exist, popular English authors appeared on more than one American list. (The art historian S. H. Steinberg says that, by 1830, about 20 American firms were pouring out the Waverley novels of Walter Scott.)

This relation with England is only the first of several *"plus-ça-change"* elements in our publishing. Today the annual exchange of visits between English and American publishers – to sell and acquire titles – is a staple practice. The practice dates from the end of the 18th century, although it was then largely concerned with arrangements for importing English books. Several decades had to elapse before the trading became reciprocal. Since the lack of copyright made it possible to publish English books here with little or no royalty payment, American publishers preferred them to American books. There is a good argument that this situation retarded the development of American literature.

Then there is another perennial matter – the age-old plaint about the increasing commercialization of publishing. We hear it a lot these days. But in 1835 the founder of D. Appleton & Co. wrote to his son: "The only misgiving I have regarding your success after I am gone, arises from my having noticed in you some symptoms of literary taste." In 1898 Henry Holt wrote that it had once been possible for a publisher "to succeed and still be a gentleman" but that the fierce competition for authors "has of course killed all that."

Nothing is more common these days than the article decrying the book industry's antiquated methods and lack of information. In 1900 *Munsey's Magazine* carried an article entitled "What Happened to the Book Publishers?," which said: "All their methods are practically antiquated. . . . They themselves are out of touch with popular tastes."

We have heard a great deal in the last 10 years of the unfortunate Wall Street influence, as many publishing firms have merged and "gone public." In 1907 that same Henry Holt wrote: "It would be an immense gain for literature . . . if the 'commercial enterprise' that has come in from Wall Street . . . were taken out of the publishing business."

As for the paperback revolution, the first such revolution occurred in the 1840's, and it went through a cycle that is still repeated today: initial success, glut of the market, retrenchment, then growth and glut again – with seemingly no ability to learn from past experience. (Latest reports tell us that the cycle is now once more at a low point.)

We also hear frequently – particularly from older men – that publishing is going to the dogs, both because of technological innovation and a decline in popular taste. The new technologies, like xerox and microfilm, will apparently affect bookselling in ways that will dwarf the effects of the postwar paperback surge, but the business, overall, is bound to boom, whether its products are in richly bound covers or on tiny rolls of film. As for the state of literature, it is hard to see why the fact of microfilm will *in itself* doom the novelist or poet any more than the prefab house doomed the architect.

The requiem for the past fine taste of the general public seems out of order. In what way were past bestsellers like Mrs. E.D.E.N. Southworth and Harold Bell Wright any better than Jacqueline Susann and Harold Robbins? If Robert Browning's *Poems* sold 225,000 copies in 1850, it was probably as much the result of superficial vogue as the huge sale of *Herzog* seems to have been last year.

Madison's history of this fascinating field is useful but unsatisfactory. A lot of information has been collected, but the writing is rarely better than pedestrian and is sometimes inept. ("The character of a publishing house . . . is reflected in the personality of the owner and chief executive." Surely Madison means exactly the reverse.) He and his copy editor have been slovenly: I counted 35 misspellings of authors' names and book titles, and possibly those familiar with textbooks and scientific works would find more. His methods are often ungainly. Two examples out of dozens: A list reads "Laszlo Nemeth, F. Dürrenmatt, John Osborne. . . ." Why omit Dürrenmatt's

(Continued on page 48)

* *Book Publishing in America*, by Charles A. Madison (McGraw-Hill; $12.50)

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From the Depths of the Thirties

by Murray Kempton

It was brave of Avon to retrieve *The Unpossessed* and put it to the risk of the paperback market after the 30 years it has slumbered almost unremembered. To admire the spirit is easier than to grant the hope; what appeal *The Unpossessed* retains is so much more to our curiosity than to our affections; it seems, most of the time, to insist too much on what we already know and learned long ago. To read Miss Slesinger is to remember how strident the thirties were and how repetitively and how crudely they made their effects. That was the very side of them Miss Slesinger protested; yet she could only object to an age of manifestoes in the tone of manifesto. She gathers her barren women and their failed men in a living room and then:

The Unpossessed
by Tess Slesinger
Afterword by Lionel Trilling
(Avon; 95 cents)

"My God, said Margaret Flinders to Margaret Banner-that-was (–*herself*–); we are sterile; we are too horribly girlish for our age, too mannish (with our cigarettes, our jobs, our drying lips) for our sex. Was this what you intended, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu? Rolling your fine eyes about the drawing room? Was this what my mother meant for me, sending me off to college, a book of Ibsen under my eager arm? O Economic-Independence Votes-for-Women Sex Equality! You've relieved us of our screens and our embroidery hoops, our babies and our vertigo; and given us – a cigarette, a pencil in our hair."

"*Norah, why don't we have children?* she heard her own voice piercing like a fine horn through the din, battling its way through her pounding temples, cutting through time and space and clearing the air of confusion and wrong. And gazing straight at Norah as though the truth were out at last, she saw that the words had never been uttered, that her piercing voice had sounded nowhere but in her own astounded brain. 'God damn it,' Margaret Flinders suddenly said."

The voice is the one Miss Slesinger must have known only too well – it is the voice of man in his fortress on West End Avenue, affectionate, but belittling, impossible of interruption except by desperate expletive, never listening, always explaining, instructing, judging, anxious to be disappointed in her. She fled that voice, one thinks, because she was patronized; and now here it drones on, patronizing her still. In Tess Slesinger's New York, men, in the company of women, did not so much talk to them as to themselves about them. And here we sit still unchanged after 30 years, still lecturing and hardly having noticed that she escaped us long ago.

Lionel Trilling tells us about Miss Slesinger with the reticent kindness we expect from the right sort of older brother when he talks about a little sister who ran away in the long ago. She was born in New York in 1905; a passing recollection of Damrosch concerts is all that is needed to fix our notion of a childhood in its established Jewish community. She was a graduate of the Ethical Culture Society School; Trilling met her first on the day of her marriage to Herbert Solow in the Society's meetinghouse on Central Park West. Her first husband was at the time an assistant editor of *The Menorah Journal*, remembered less for its own splendid merits than because Elliot Cohen, its managing editor, was to be the founder of *Commentary*.

"After her marriage to Solow, Tess Slesinger came into the circle of Cohen's tutelage," Trilling remembers. "No doubt she learned the more from him because he held her in great affection, as she did him." She was 29 when she published *The Unpossessed*.

"Her natural charm," Trilling says, "was of a daughterly or a younger-sisterly kind, and in some considerable part consisted of her expectation of being loved, indulged, forgiven, or having permission to be spirited or even naughty."

The frame of reference is then of the family, and one for which Trilling retains the utmost affection; but the daughter of the house may be excused if she found it terribly confining. There was, first of all, its ghetto: the culture of her childhood had been high German and her new family did not take her far away from it. "Our tastes incline us to the left, our habits to the right; the left distrusts, the right despises us," her Bruno Leonard cries near the end of her book.

The isolation of Miss Slesinger's persona is just this total; even the Communist Party is an abstraction of caricature outside their lives. All America seems light years away from them. That isolation is unexpectedly a factor of having been born Jewish and raised in an approximation of the atmosphere of Frankfurt. Nowadays the editor of *Commentary* has dinner with Mrs. John F. Kennedy and we have so forgotten the time when the Jewish intellectual was so little able to assert his authority in the general national culture that we need Trilling's painful reminder that his own appointment to the Columbia faculty in the twenties was an experiment.

For, to be *echt* bourgeois was to be cut off from the mass of the Jews of the thirties; and to be Jewish as well was to be separated from one's own class. The non-Jews one met must have been very seldom of one's own social position. Miss Slesinger rings least true when she introduces the Protestant rich upon her stage; there is the sense that these were persons she knew because she had confronted and inspected them at the money-

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raising events to which Jews of her class were invited only for their known munificence. Protestants with real property were simply outside her experience.

Part of her failure with them can be blamed on the temptation so many young novelists have to create characters upon whom they are unable to stand cross-examination. But another part of it must be honored for the courage of her attempt to engage the world outside the limits of the family. She is most appealing in the intensity of her curiosity about the "real" America; very seldom these days do we read a novel which so celebrates the rural, the fecund, the field as against the hothouse.

This nostalgia for a place she had never been must have been necessary to her as repeated flights into a time unremembered are to her Margaret Flinders.

Trilling would hate to have it thought that *The Unpossessed* is "that so often graceless thing, a novel of feminine protest."

But it is difficult to read as anything else, from the beginning when Maggie Flinders remembers: "The real class struggle, Bruno said, is the struggle between the sexes, and rebellion begins at home," on through the reiterated moments when her husband feels her "alive and powerful, ten times more than he, as though she deliberately made the contrast."

In her family, the women are invariably the stronger and the men the weaker; the women natural, the men affected; the women the center to which the men repair either for refuge or rebellion. Miss Slesinger, you end up thinking, could hardly have been so insistent upon overrating her sex if it had been less persistently underrated in the family.

Trilling says she was born to be a novelist. He knew her, to be sure; but a stranger has to doubt it. The active motor behind the animus of *The Unpossessed* was her decision to divorce her husband; she seems to have waited barely long enough to see it published and fail to penetrate as an explanation, and then she escaped to Hollywood and a new husband and children. Norah then did not slam the door – who would have heard? – instead she wrote a novel. And, not thereafter having the need for another divorce, she was relieved of the necessity to explain herself; she became a happy wife, a mother and a screenwriter.

The family's reaction, as remembered by Trilling, is a powerful testament for her grievance:

> "The burden of uneasy – of 'guilty' – feeling must have been increased by the success the book achieved. . . . It was not success of an overwhelming kind, but it was real. . . . In the ethos of the time, the idea of 'integrity' had great coercive power, and it was commonly supposed that success indicated an integrity compromised or even wholly lost; the gratification it brought was almost certain to be shot through with shame. That did not, of course, make success any the less interesting or attractive, and those who constituted the circle of Tess' friends wanted it for themselves, chiefly in the form of literary achievement. But it was Tess who first had it. That surely must have made a difficult situation for her. It would have been difficult for a man; it was even harder for a woman."

The illumination of this passage has a special sadness because Trilling can describe the environment that drove Miss Slesinger to revolt so much better than *The Unpossessed* can. To be a woman in that environment was to have the point of your complaint better made by man's response to your gesture than by the gesture itself.

Miss Slesinger failed as an artist because her true complaint could not be expressed with the means of discourse available to her. The language of feminism is just not subtle enough for what truly affronted her about her life; she never seemed to have been able to find in it the proper key for her particular sense of loss; now she consciously parodies the feminist promise with the intent to deride, and now she unconsciously parodies it with the intent to exalt.

The difficulty seems to be that Miss Slesinger felt cheated of a promise of feminism so noble and so beautiful that it was seldom articulated by the normal feminist. The best of its daughters must have felt that the equality the woman's revolution prom-

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ised was only useful as a way to a genuine intimacy between man and woman. Equality is a convenience; intimacy is a need. And intimacy was the promise of which Miss Slesinger properly felt cheated. That accounts for the mystery of how she could be so attractive and her work so without charm: *The Unpossessed* is, above all, charmless because its men and its women cannot talk to one another. It is unfair to blame a writer for a quality which so justly makes her point; but her circumstance made it a defect.

The claim of *The Unpossessed* on our attention, for example, is almost always pressed these days for what it can tell us about the state of mind of a special circle of New York intellectuals outside history at a moment of history. But there is very little life left in it as a social document; and, since that was not Miss Slesinger's concern, she cannot be blamed for that lack. She so well understood the element in the conversations of her men which was largely a device to avoid conversation with her women that, in being all-too-just to them in so many other things, she could not be just to that fraction of seriousness which had to exist in even this distorted an effort to engage political reality. What has spoiled *The Unpossessed* as a social portrait is not Miss Slesinger's hostility but her contempt for the importance of her subjects.

The life which endures in her grievance is instead in what is personal. As an instance, one reads most of the way through with less interest in than impatience with its old quarrels, and then one is suddenly caught up by that unspoken quarrel between Margaret and Miles Flinders which ends the novel with her yielding to his demand that she abort their child.

This remains still an event so compelling that, shameful though it is to violate her privacy now, one cannot avoid the conviction that it happened to Miss Slesinger. Under stress of that conviction, it becomes possible to wonder whether those of our feminine novelists whose experience condemned them to the New York environment of the thirties might not more fortunately have died virgins. As it is, their words as teachers never quite talk to us as persuasively as do their wounds as victims; one remembers the woman forced into an abortion or the girl sitting all night in the park with her pessary long after one has forgotten the rest, all the figures in the landscape having been withered by that single stroke of autobiographical desolation.

"Norah, why don't we have children?," Maggie Flinders tries to call out. The thoughts which precede this strangled cry are, oddly enough, part Shaw, part Ibsen; she could think only in a language dictated to her by men, in the way that one African could only communicate his hatred of French oppression to another African by speaking French. Most of the time, at least in the early moments when being pregnant is only an abstract ideal to her, Margaret Flinders seems to confine its interior exposition pretty much to the terms of the Shavian notion of woman as life force. It may be that

it's here!

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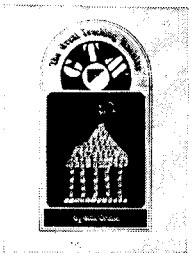

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Miss Slesinger really believed that the Shavian formulas are enough by themselves to support a conviction this intense; but to think so is to read the Flinders marriage as no more than a power struggle. Miles Flinders thought it was, and Miss Slesinger gives his resentful and self-important ruminations more space than any author less just and kindly would have; but if either Miss Slesinger or her Margaret had thought the quarrel was about power she would have left us very little reason to care at all.

What makes one care is the scene which sets Margaret off to reflecting first with irony, then with rage, and at last with exultation, of the image of woman as life force. Her men are talking about men's work; and the customary disregard of their wives in such a conversation is made the more absurd because they are talking about a magazine they have projected but will never publish, and thus not about work at all but about a fantasy from which all save themselves are excluded. They are occasionally distracted enough to include the women; but when they do, it is to talk about man, woman and sex, in the vulgar clinical terms certain to turn the real into the fantasy.

At any such scene, the eventual overmastering cry is just for someone you can talk to. I cannot remember that feeling better defined than it was by Ford Madox Ford when he had his Tietjens reflect that the best reason for having a mistress is to have someone to talk to. So perhaps, then, Margaret Flinders' demand to have a child is only a translation of the same lonely impulse.

She seems by all accounts to have been very happy in Hollywood. She never wrote another novel, but one doubts that she felt this regret especially. This experience of peace and silence seems somehow a triumph over the New York man quite beyond the small competitive victory with the novel which made her place in the family so uneasy.

She even died a Stalinist, and Trilling reminds us that all the other members of the family had carried, in lonely rectitude, their resistance to that infection through a time remembered as one of great political loneliness. That reminder is the closest Trilling ever comes to that utterance so normal to the New York man: "I was right and you were wrong." But it is her victory that, even here, she manages so to enforce her personality that we are sure only that she was incorrect, and not that she was wrong. The insistence on being correct has had marvelous results for Trilling; I am not sure that its results have been all that appetizing in his inferiors. Stalinism, with all its vulgarity, had a sense of the family and an over-valuation of the common life, a tolerance, if you will, of romantic delusion that does not always suffer in comparison with superior judgment. A great part of its mindlessness was an over-acceptance of America. It was a movement in which a woman could, for a little while, delude herself that man was a comrade; and the point of *The Unpossessed* is that back here the family is full of cousins and brothers and uncles and empty of comrades.

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Down and Out

by Morris Renek

Eight million Americans have fallen down a rabbit hole. Of the many citizens and corporations who get that legendary *something for nothing* from local, state and federal sources, the inhabitants of this wonderland have the lowest income. They also have little or no power. They may have, within their vast and growing numbers, the first group of Americans who do not want to learn from their social betters, who do not want to imitate them, and who feel no obligation for the assistance given to them.

The Poorhouse State
by Richard M. Elman
(Pantheon; $5.95)

Richard M. Elman, who served as a research assistant at the Columbia School of Social Work, went down to the longest running slum in New York, the Lower East Side, to find out for himself how the poor go through the public assistance machinery. He has written a vivid account of how the poor are kept dependent and degraded through the manner in which they get helped. His face-to-face report on the poor is sometimes outrageously funny, and funny in a Gogolesque way that leaves you with a nightmare.

Elman lets you hear the hysteria when the relief checks stop coming without reason. He lets you in on the lightheaded joy that can overtake a man on public assistance who receives $85 and is filled with visions of doing in the State for more. You see for yourself the puritan generosity toward women and girls who are allotted 100 cleaning tissues per year; one haircut per year when over sixteen; and are checked out for one sanitary belt every two years. You also hear a voice of the devoutly religious confessing how he has to lie to live within the regulations.

The Poorhouse State is remarkably candid. It can be quoted as Scripture by those who are for some form of public assistance (but not *this!*) or by those who believe the poor should be isolated. The poor, of course, *are* isolated. They do not even live in our time zone. If you are a poverty entrepreneur who has converted poverty into a professional income, time has a leisurely flow (ex-

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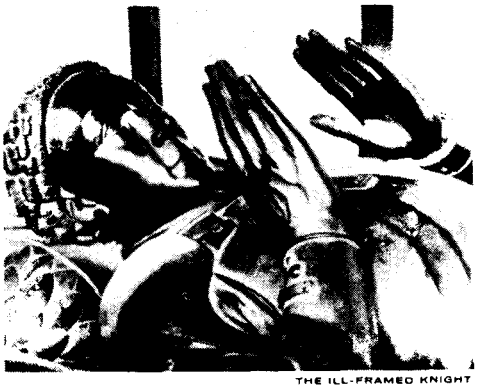

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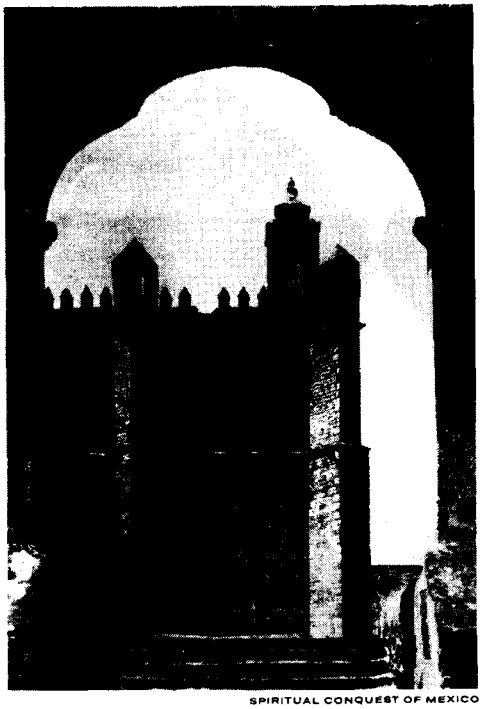

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cept when bucking for academic promotions). If you are poor, time brings a desperate race and a despairing waiting-out for the basic necessities.

The irony doesn't mercifully end with the poor having a difficult time getting employment while their condition makes employment for a professional class. Elman has superbly caught the other ironies that are inflicted on the public assistance poor.

The poor are saturated with mass media entertainment geared for their viewing, reading, listening. Television, that heartbeat of man as a headless consumer, is the poor man's chief source of entertainment. Yet a viewer on public assistance must lie quietly and abstain from the lure of the tempting commercials.

A far more difficult urge to restrain is that of sex, and some of the female poor have been required to abstain from this too. Though we all float daily on a sexually manipulative, audio-visual Muzak for advertising and the mass media, the poor must ignore this bombardment on their natural urge. In New York City, until recently, there were after-midnight and early morning sex inspectors to see that the woman on public assistance did not gratify her sexual needs when she was separated from her husband.

After Richard Elman's book the recipients of public assistance will no longer be faceless. Their grievances will no longer sound outlandish. But Elman shows that public assistance is a self-perpetuating blight. This is all the more sorrowful because thirty years ago Thurman Arnold made the bureaucratic captives walk the plank in *The Folklore of Capitalism*. His witty dissection of government operations holds true for today, and especially in the light of Elman's account. Arnold wrote that if the attempted rescue of Amelia Earhart was carried out the way the government proceeds with housing assistance, this would happen:

"First plans would have been made for the use of the best planes to search the ocean. Then, when this extravagance was attacked publicly, cheaper planes would have been used. By the time that this device had received condemnation for inefficiency, the rescue would have

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been changed from a practical, efficient endeavor to a public debate about general principles. Everyone would have agreed that people in distress must be rescued. They would have insisted, however, that the problem was intimately tied up with balancing the national budget, improving the character of people lost at sea, stopping the foolhardy from adventuring and at the same time encouraging the great spirit of adventure and initiative. They would have ended perhaps by creating a commission to study the matter statisically, take a census of those lost at sea. . . ."

The Poorhouse State is in need of a companion volume. Worse than living in this state is to sicken and begin to die in it, to have your pain in neglected charity hospital wards and on a wind-blown island off Hell's Gate in the East River where the destitute find their care. Elman now has to show what happens when the people he has so vividly depicted, get dressed up and go looking for a job with the property owner and the upward mobile taxpayer at the other side of the personnel desk. Then the hell begins. What Richard Elman has written is an absorbing account of the poor in Limbo. The breath of the poor is almost in your face. This is a tribute to his writing as well as to his old-fashioned good sense to participate in what he's writing about.

Civic Action in Latin America

by Joseph A. Page

"Civic action," as applied to Latin America by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, has a special appeal to the "tough-minded liberal." Its rationalization runs somewhat as follows: Large armies are an inevitable and inherent part of the Latin American scene, so why not make the best of them. Train special units in counter-insurgency to meet the Communist challenge of the 1960's, and at the same time utilize military manpower and skills to fight underdevelopment. If the armed forces devote themselves to public works and other economically useful activities, mainly in the rural areas, they will endear themselves to the local populace, help eliminate some of the causes of insurrection, and be in a position to move quickly and effectively against insurgents.

Internal Security and Military Power: Counterinsurgency and Civic Action in Latin America
by Willard F. Barber
and C. Neale Ronning
(Ohio State; $6.50)

Internal Security and Military Power, a probing study of civic action in Latin America, questions each of these propositions. Willard F. Barber, a former officer in the US Foreign Service, and Professor S. Neale Ronning of Johns Hopkins University point out that the public relations success of civic action has been measured by numerous laudatory articles published in the Latin American press, the majority of which have been planted by the United States Information Service. (It might be added that most of the rural population in Latin America is illiterate.) The contribution of civic action projects to economic development is debatable. Public relations requires short-range impact projects which do not always meet long-term growth needs. Also the Latin armed forces have traditionally obstructed social change, considered by many as a prerequisite to development.

Admittedly civic action has contributed to the success of anti-guerrilla operations in Peru and Venezuela. But satisfactory progress has been much slower in Guatemala and Colombia, the only other Latin countries with serious rural insurgency problems. The lesson of Santo Domingo underscores the danger of urban rebellion, which is a clearer threat in more advanced nations such as Argentina and Brazil. Civic action as currently conceived is largely irrelevant to the conditions which may spawn urban uprisings.

The paradox posed at the outset by Barber and Ronning derives from the

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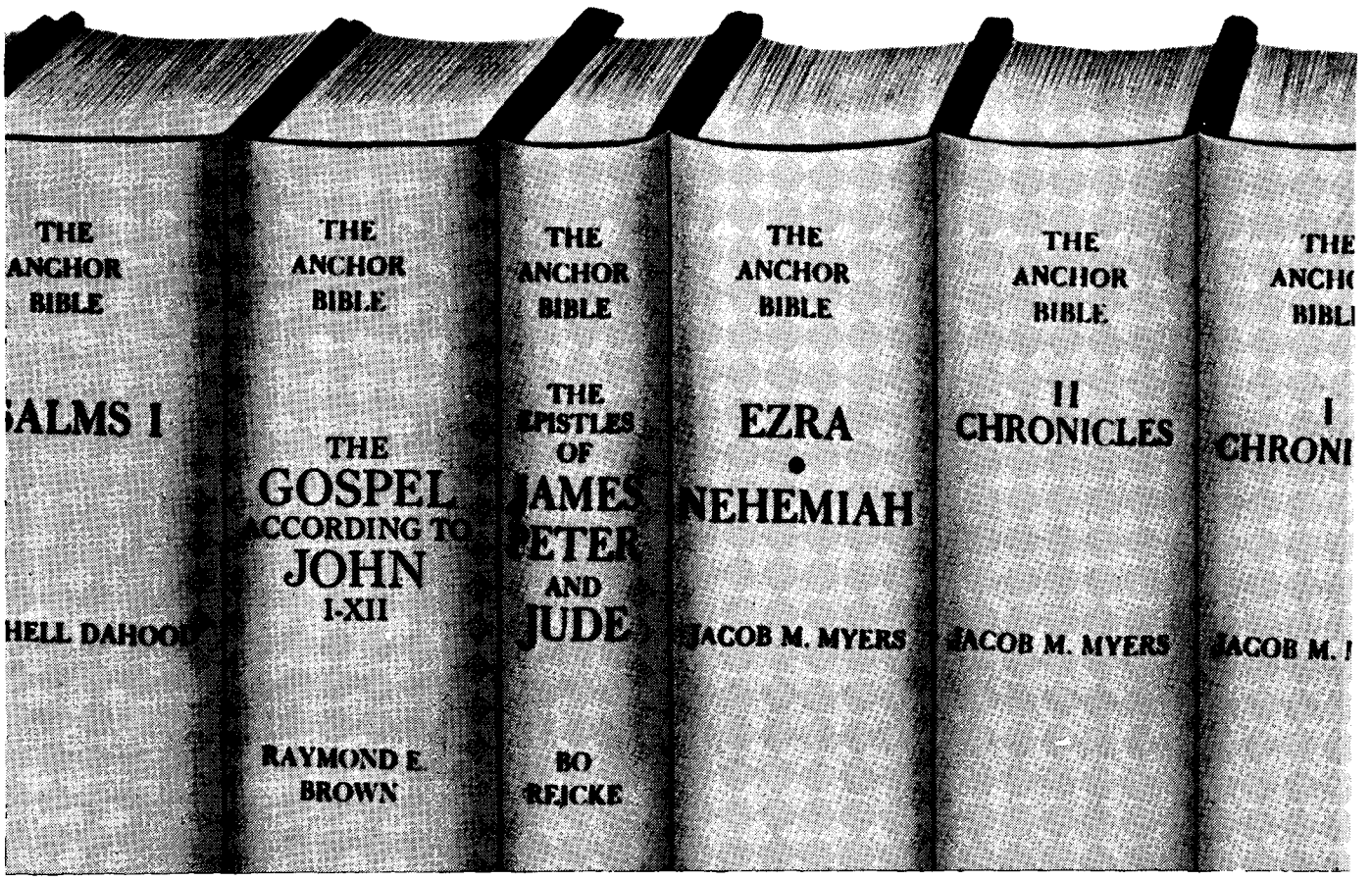

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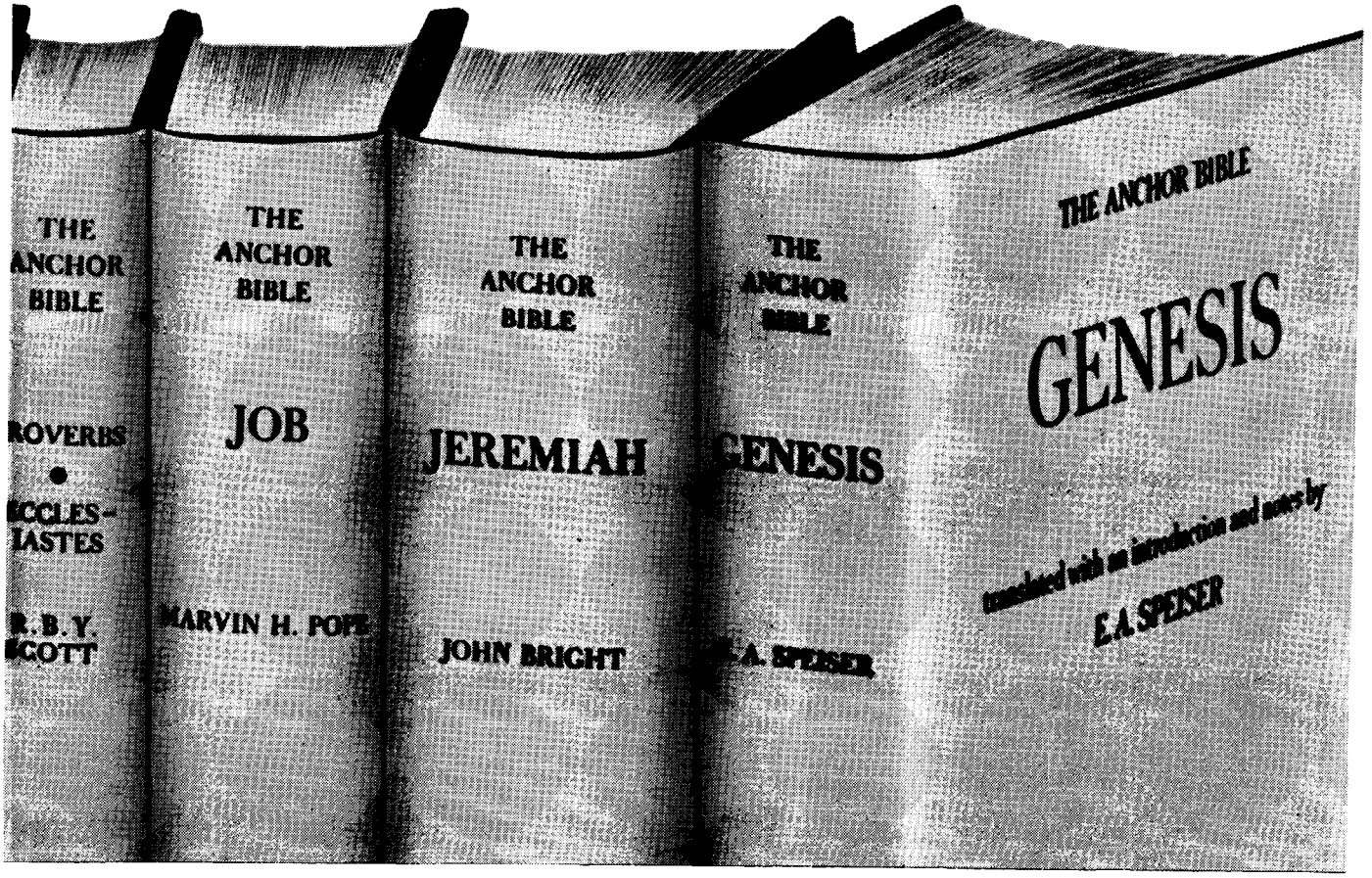

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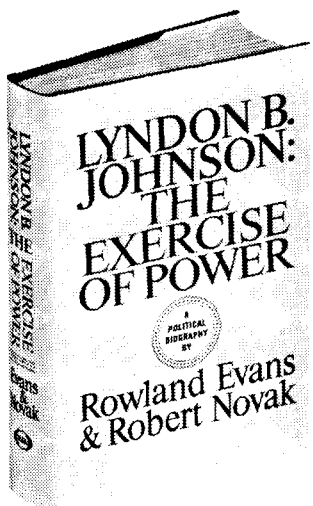

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apparent contradiction between US measures to strengthen counterinsurgency capabilities, and US efforts to promote economic development and social justice through the Alliance for Progress. If the armed forces in Latin America act as a bulwark against change, the Pentagon would seem to be unraveling what the State Department weaves.

The performance of the Latin military over the past five years does not support the view that the generals have transformed themselves into catalysts for progress. *Golpes* have proliferated. Military regimes in Ecuador, Guatemala, Bolivia and Paraguay have failed to bring about reforms. The military rulers of Brazil, upon whom much premature praise has been heaped, prefer a tighter dictatorial grip to much needed structural change. Their colleagues in Argentina follow suit. Military budgets throughout the continent are still excessive, and the senseless purchase of arms from the US and elsewhere continues. The generals *talk* of reform and national renovation – and they always have.

Civic action projects would be salutary if they replaced some of the more wasteful military expenditures. But Barber and Ronning express concern that the Latin armed forces are adding the costs of civic action to their current budgets, and that they may be gaining control of activities properly left to civilians. In Ecuador, for example, the military operates scheduled flights which compete with the civilian airline. In Argentina, the armed forces run industrial enterprises such as steel mills and chemical plants. More than 90 percent of the production of these industries finds its way into civilian markets.

If civic action and counterinsurgency strengthen an already powerful element in Latin America, the countervailing justification is supposed to be the devotion to "democratic principles" of officers trained in the US and at home by American military men. The nature of these transmitted "principles" is a subject which the authors do not pursue. Some Latins may take this training in democracy and its call for social justice too literally. Thus one finds a Francisco Caamaño Deñó in the Dominican Republic, and the late Guatemalan guerrilla leader Luis Augusto Turcios Lima, both schooled in the United States.

But most officers are more traditionally minded, and the problem for the US is how (and when) to control their proneness to meddle in civilian affairs. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact amount of influence exerted by the American military over their Latin counterparts. Barber and Ronning at least recognize the possibility that members of US military missions may contravene State Department policy and encourage Latin generals in their political activism. The least that can be said is that relations between US and Latin military men are so close and *golpes* are planned so far in advance that US military personnel must be aware of impending military moves against civilian governments.

In addition to personal contact with military leaders, another method of securing the loyalty of Latin officers is to provide them with the opportunity to take home from the US expensive, duty-free consumer goods. The authors might have examined the extent to which this is done and its ultimate usefulness to us.

Internal Security and Military Power is a helpful analysis of the concept and execution of civic action in Latin America. But so long as a stable economic and political environment is deemed a primary goal and all insurgency is by definition inspired and controlled by communists, civic action will remain a sugar-coated pill designed to preserve the power of military leaders who will not rock the boat.

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Murray Kempton, *formerly an editor of this journal, is now contributing a regular column to* The New York Post. Morris Renek *is the author of a novel,* The Big Hello. Joseph A. Page *is on the faculty of the law school of the University of Denver.* Wolf Von Eckardt *has written extensively on architecture and city planning.*

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The City as It Is

by Wolf Von Eckardt

Addressing the 50th anniversary dinner of the Brookings Institution the other day, President Johnson implored scholars and thinkers to help him break through the problem of the cities and the dynamics of urban life. "This is such a mixture of physical, financial and psychological questions," he said, "as to confound the best minds we have."

Heaven knows the scholars and thinkers are trying. Urban study centers are mushrooming all over academe. Convention hotels and resorts from coast to coast are filled to capacity with conferences and symposia on the problems of cities. Most mass-circulation magazines have devoted issues to the subject. And there is a plethora of books.

The Living End: The City and Its Critics
by Roger Starr
(Coward-McCann; $5.95)
Challenge to the Cities
An Approach to a Theory of Urban Leadership
by Henry W. Maier
(Random House; $3.95)
The Zoning Game
Municipal Practices and Policies
by Richard F. Babcock
(Wisconsin; $5.75)
Megalopolis Unbound
The Supercity and the Transportation of Tomorrow
by Senator Claiborne Pell
(Praeger; $5.95)

The trouble is that most of this sudden loquacity is devoted to urban future-telling. Like fortune telling, these fanciful visions might be harmless fun. They prophesy endlessly sprawling megalopolis and ecumenopolis, dotted with neat little nuclear factories, idyllically automated research and development centers, and 100-story skyscrapers, covered with a cobweb of radar-controlled, high-speed super-highways, and populated by happy robots, hell-bent on a continuing education process, who do not talk but communicate with each other by video phone and computer.

Like fortune tellers, the science fiction planners at Berkeley and elsewhere tell us that all this is our inevitable fate. That's where the fun ceases. For we can't solve the problems of the city by flights of fancy into nightmarish visions of the non-city of tomorrow.

The four books under review are therefore a welcome change. Roger Starr likes the city as it is and sees little wrong with it. Mayor Henry W. Maier of Milwaukee tries to tell us how to run it efficiently. Richard F. Babcock, from the viewpoint of the lawyer, makes clear that present-day zoning practices only confound the dilemma of constructive land use. And Senator Claiborne Pell, Democrat of Rhode Island, brilliantly argues a realistic, earth-bound solution to the transportation problem.

Roger Starr is the executive director of New York's Citizens' Housing and Planning Council and sees himself as the tough guy who is in the thick of it and knows the score. His book might thus be the most refreshing of the lot. But it isn't. Starr belligerently takes the side of the idealistic pre-New Deal "housers," a wonderful bunch of people who put the all-important Housing Act of 1937 across. Alas, revolutionaries of 30 years ago are often the reactionaries of today.

Starr violently disagrees with Charles Abrams, Saul Alinsky, James Baldwin, Peter Blake, Herbert Gans, Nathan Glazer, Victor Gruen, Michael Harrington, Ada Louise Huxtable, Jane Jacobs, Daniel Moynihan, Lewis Mumford, Harrison Salisbury, Lincoln Steffens, Alan Temko, Nicholas von Hoffman, William S. Whyte, Elizabeth Wood, me, and most everyone else who, in one way or another, struggles with the problems of the city in public print, including most city hall reporters. This could be stimulating, even enlightening if he gave the urban critics a good argument. He doesn't. Instead, he constructs an outrageously superficial and often outright false statement of their critical premise and then knocks it down with an emotional barrage of dripping sarcasm. It is silly, for instance, to say that Mrs. Huxtable, the erudite architecture critic of *The New York Times*, speaks up for the preservation of worthy old period buildings only because she is attached "to the social order of that period's upper-class life." She is, in fact, positively avant-garde in her social and architectural views.

Starr undermines even his own premise that the city is a pretty exciting place to live in. One good reason it is, one would assume, is that the city is a community of people. But Starr says that's a myth. He cites the much cited mobility of Americans and the fact that people in the same neighborhood often fail to speak to each other as evidence that "American comunities can be disassembled and reconstituted about as readily as freight trains." And so, he goes on, the whole idea of "community" is just a middle-class device to cross up the mayor when he wants to tear down houses for an urban renewal project or a new school. Poor people, he says, incited by Saul Alinsky and von Hoffmann, latch on to the idea because "since they have no property, their only marketable asset is hardship in a society pledged to eliminate that

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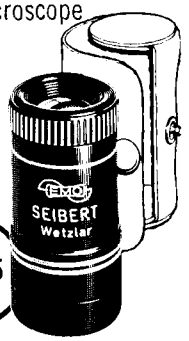

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hardship which it is unable to ignore." If they all owned department stores they would presumably be happy to see them torn down for a later model or a freeway.

Rather than "wrap themselves up in the word *community*," says Starr, the people in the cities ought to shut up: "The only persons able legitimately to speak in the name of the community in this sense are the members of the Planning Commission appointed by the Mayor who was elected by the voters." God help us! Many mayors have good reason to ignore their planning commissions.

Nor would Starr improve the art of planning. Having devoted more than half of his book to all the ignoramuses he is against, he eventually gets around to telling us what he is for. He favors more expressways because, he says, "only feminists and whores were seen downtown on foot" until the automobile came. People who, like Starr, believe more cars bring more business downtown might note that the only two central business districts in the country where business has increased in recent years are San Francisco and Washington, D.C. These happen to be the two places where the highway program is snarled.

Starr also favors giving priority to housing for the Negro middle class rather than the Negro poor. In effect he argues for economic segregation within the ghetto, hoping that better housing conditions for well-to-do Negroes will eventually trickle down. But before that can happen, he says, we must distinguish between the merely "economic poor," who must be given new economic opportunities, and the "disorganized poor," who are to be organized by raising their children apart from their inadequate homes in "a new kind of boarding institution, intimate and humane." Starr admits that this would be politically difficult to put across.

The same is true of continued urban renewal and more public housing, which Starr rightly favors, unless these programs are drastically and convincingly reformed. Starr therefore does his cause no service by scoffing at anyone who would reform them, as the bright, new Harvard and MIT men in the Department of Housing and Urban Development are now attempting to do.

Only at one point does Starr indirectly admit a mistake of the earlier generation of "housers" and urban reformers. They have reformed municipal administration to the point where any action and decision in the city have become somewhat of a miracle. Starr now hollers "uncle" and wishes the old bosses were back. And he is right, I believe.

The Last Hurrah is but a faint memory and all over the country people are beginning to clamor for strong mayors and strong city leadership. They will agree with Starr that "enough of a record has now been made so that one can compare the achievements of the new no-boss governments with those of the old political machines. A fair look at the evidence suggests that the obsolescent political machines were capable of achievements in the cities to which the new, more responsive governments have not yet attained."

How do you get good mayors who make good bosses? This is the important question to which Mayor Maier addresses himself. His answer is a sort of personal McNamaraism. He's got it all down to "Mayor's Office Form 25," or M-25 for short. What you put down on that form is a simple kind of systems analysis of the problem which Maier has dubbed D-STEPP.

D stands for decision, S for strategy, T for tactics, E for enrollment (by which he means political support), P for power (by which he means the potential for getting results), and that last, redundant P stands for philosophy. Philosophy, you would think, comes first because it denotes the mayor's concept of what the decision-making is trying to accomplish. But that would spoil the acronym.

While I don't doubt that Maier's D-STEPPs have worked better in Milwaukee than McNamara's systems analyzed escalation has worked in Vietnam, I wonder whether fancy management techniques are as helpful as they are made out to be. Fiorello LaGuardia and Joseph Clark did it all in their heads, and so, I hope, does John V. Lindsay. What helped Milwaukee, to judge from its mayor's book, and what may yet save New York, is a consolidation of multitudinous quarreling agencies and bureaus into a few well organized departments under the tight control of the mayor. In such a set-up city planning should be not some irrelevant crystal-ball gazing but an operational function of government, not a "continuing process," as some planners would have it, but a precise blueprint for action. Starr calls planning "simply a systematic concern with the future." It would be more helpful if it became a realistic concern with what is to be done.

But how? The planners look upon zoning as their most important "planning tool." It doesn't work very well, however, particularly in the suburbs, as anyone can see by driving around. Somewhat like Prohibition in its day, zoning is a noble experiment that has largely failed. It has not curbed the country's binge of rampant, reckless and ugly urbanization.

Richard F. Babcock, a Chicago land-use lawyer, presents the first comprehensive study of *The Zoning Game* and a very readable one. Suburban zoning has largely become a device to protect the property value of single family homes by keeping allegedly un-

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desirable land uses and people out of their lily-white middle-income residential areas. On the other side are the people who have too many children or the wrong skin color, who prefer to live in apartments or "mobile homes" (once known as trailers), and who supply needed services such as food markets or filling stations. The lawyers are bored with a game that has almost as many rules as there are players. The courts are bewildered. And the builders, who are not always the villains they are made out to be, are caught in the middle. Instead of land they find themselves buying lawsuits. Zoning procedures resolve the conflict, says Babcock, "by crude tribal adaptations of medieval trial by fire."

Babcock finds little evidence "that the private decision-maker [*i.e.* the lay zoning board member], left to his own devices, can be trusted to act in the public interest." (This is also what Starr means when he castigates the citizens who speak up for the community. But Starr spills the child with the bathwater.) Babcock suggests a reform of zoning procedures that would inject some ethics into the game. He would let a State agency review local zoning decisions to be sure that they don't stand in the way of rational regional development.

But Babcock all but dismisses the core of the problem: the need for a comprehensive master plan on which rational land use can be based. It is easy to see why. Urbanization is proceeding so hectically that most plans are out of date before they can be printed, let alone adopted by the community. The answer, I believe, is not to forget about planning and substitute more ethical zoning procedures. We can make firm plans to remodel and organize our metropolitan areas and make them stick if we acknowledge that their continued expansion is no more desirable than to keep adding on to the same old house. New growth would be channeled into new, well-planned settlements elsewhere. It makes no sense that most of our population growth now takes place in 20 metropolitan areas which occupy only 1.4 percent of the nation's land.

Our chaotic land use has, of course, also led to near-chaos in transportation and vice versa. Senator Pell would unravel the colossal traffic snarl that strangles Megalopolis – the urbanized area between Boston and Washington – on the ground and in the air. He makes and needs no apology for the simplicity of his central theme – to make far better use of our railroads.

His first step is to run a high-speed railroad train between Boston and Washington, an undertaking that was launched a year ago with the passage of the High-Speed Ground Transportation Act. We'll see the result early next year when the first, fast turbo-engine train will start running between Boston and New York. In another year, on souped-up electric trains, we'll be able to travel between New York and Washington in three hours.

Pell's account of his labors to translate his idea into legislation is fascinating. The theme of his book, however, is a calm and lucid analysis of the mess our national preoccupation with freeways has gotten us in.

The European and, more recently, the Canadian National railroads have proven that a little imagination and modernization can bring the passengers back. Canadian railroad men, who, until a few years ago, hated passengers almost as much as our Eastern railroads do, now have as much fun courting passengers as the passengers have riding their trains. The Japanese with their 155-mile-per-hour New Tokaido Line have proved that railroads can be fast. On short trips, such as between Washington and New York, say, they'll get us there as quickly as airplanes if you consider that they'll take us from downtown to downtown.

But Pell does not stop at the downtown station. He is aware that we need some of the old door-to-door mobility that our grandparents used to enjoy when cities were smaller. He believes that modern transportation technology can provide this. The way to get the new trains and subways built and synchronized with a functioning system, Pell believes, endorsing an idea advanced at MIT, is to set up a "Transportation TVA." The Tennessee Valley Authority, of course, generates electric power, flood control programs and a host of other things. The transportation authority would remold the transportation system in Megalopolis "attuned to public will and public need."

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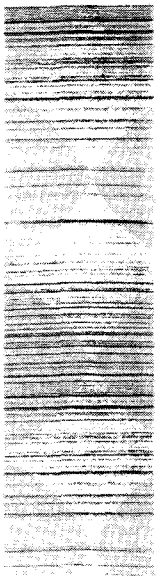

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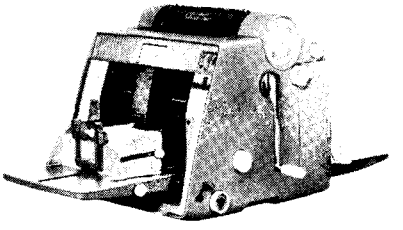

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AN APPEAL FOR NEW POLITICS

There is a grave political and moral crisis in this country. If anyone doubts this, let him take note of the following items:

1. ***The first is the Vietnam war.*** At the end of July, General Ky brought up for the first time the prospect of an invasion of North Vietnam. His statement was immediately followed by an outcry in the Senate. The Majority Leader, Senator Mansfield, said that "it would be—and I choose the word most advisedly—an abomination to move this already questionable battle order into North Vietnam." However, on August 6, when Secretary Rusk stated that the U.S. would not dismiss this possibility, no statement was forthcoming from Senator Mansfield. Why not? In *Newsweek,* September 12, we are treated to a full page article, *Escalation: The Back-Room Talk,* with a map labeled *Possible Invasion Targets,* and a statement: "In the final analysis, the decision whether it would be wise to undertake another major escalation of the war rests with Lyndon B. Johnson." Isn't it time that politics were taken out of the back room and into the front room?

2. ***The dominant voice of this nation at the moment is the voice of fear.*** The people fear what's going to happen after the election. They fear the President. In *Nation's Business* last January, an article by its former editor and publisher began: "Government by fear is causing bands of silence to fall across the Great Society," and continued: "This inclination toward silence is restricting the exchange of ideas that could result in honest consensus. It is the product of fear . . . the fear of farmers . . . of businessmen . . . of educators . . . of city leaders . . . of little people . . ." and cites as one cause of fear the Defense Department procurements, involving the jobs of 10 million men and women, directly involved, and countless others involved indirectly. In the *Wall Street Journal* of July 14, one could read: "Fear can be a potent instrument of Presidential power," and one could find related a number of incidents which keep this fear alive: "Almost Orwellian in its humorless urgency was the fervor with which Government officials, from Cabinet members on down, twisted the arms of their underlings to buy U.S. Savings Bonds." The *National Observer* August 29, called our attention to the President's Club, and a number of specific incidents typical of which is the following: Three weeks after top executives of a large company gave $10,000 to the President's Club, the Justice Department dropped a long-standing antitrust suit against the company. The *National Observer* also points to a leader of the John Birch Society who gave $12,000 to join.

3. ***We have the fear associated with the poverty problem, and the Negro problem.*** The September 10 editorial of the *Saturday Evening Post* states: "We are all, let us face it, Mississippians. We all fervently wish that the Negro problem did not exist . . . Confronted with the howling need for decent schools, jobs, housing . . . we will do our best, in a half-hearted way, to correct old wrongs. The hand may be extended grudgingly and patronizingly, but anyone who rejects that hand rejects his own best interests. For minimum rights are the only rights that we are willing to guarantee, and above these minimum rights there is and will continue to be a vast area in which we claim the most basic right of all—the right to be stupid and prejudiced . . . When this majority right is threatened, the majority will react accordingly—with results that could be disastrous to all of us." The *Post* would never publish such an editorial if it expected a national howl of protest to follow.

Is there really no voice on the national scene to answer that we are not all racist Mississippians, that although we may all have brutish impulses, the purpose of education and civilization is to train us into more humanitarian responses?

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I see nothing half-hearted about the callous and brutal war our country is waging in Vietnam. Is it really the most basic right of all to be half-hearted about our poverty problems, and full-hearted about saturating Vietnam with Napalm, and destroying the Vietnamese identity? I see nothing half-hearted about spending $60 billion a year on the military, and $30 billion on the Vietnam war, while spending an insignificant part of that to help the plight of our minority groups or cure the mess in our cities.

4. ***The President has broken faith with the voters after 1964.*** We owe the President loyalty even though he makes mistakes, so that he may correct these mistakes and lead us with fresh outlooks. Our loyalty is not so unconditional that it forces us into collective suicide. The Democrats and Republicans have put their party above their country (in the words of Senator Morse), and these parties have pursued a course of cynicism and cowardice. Bobby Kennedy wants to be President, supports Johnson and Humphrey in '68, and expects that he will be the only one to turn to after that to pick up the pieces. His political judgment, as usual, is probably correct. This does not make it any less cynical and distressing.

It remains for the people to determine whether, by individual initiatives, they can give new meaning to our democracy, and whether they can recover some control over their destiny. We can work through our friends, through the community groups to which we belong, to provoke an outburst of discussion and political pressure of every sort, concerning the crisis of this society, and to counter the monstrous power which our Government has acquired over us. More specifically:

Those of us in the universities, in business, industry, can organize conferences like that of Professor Seymour Melman, at Columbia University, September 30-October 1, designed to discuss the problems of priorities and of conversion from a war to a peace economy. For further information, and to get the text of the main talks at this conference ($3.00), write Seymour Melman, *Industrial Engineering*, Columbia University, New York 27, N. Y.

We can support men who will renew their allegiance to the people, who will rouse us with issues instead of slogans and personalities, who will provoke discussion, no matter whether they are in our district or 3,000 miles way. As a good beginning support:

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We have to junk the traditional slogans, stop being drugged on weak protest articles that make us feel good and make us accomplish exactly nothing.

Finally, as one participant of Melman's conference said: "We don't visualize the oppressed of this world marching on Washington, while the President and the Secretary of State commit suicide in the basement of the White House. Rather, we think in terms of this old Central European proverb: For each backside, there grows a thorn in the bush." There are plenty of backsides. Let's provide the thorns.

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nology of which Senator Pell speaks, and the practical, yet forward looking manner in which he speaks of it, seem to hold more promise for the future of the city than the urban science fiction of academic city planning professors. In the end, it may be the politician Pell, rather than the scholars, who will accomplish the breakthrough the President called for.

MOVIES

So Off-Beat We Lose the Beat

Like just about everything else at the moment, movies seem to be out of control. Is it possible that, as we increasingly hear suggested in discussions of civil rights or air pollution or Vietnam or education, "nobody's minding the store"? At *Georgy Girl* you may find yourself laughing but intermittently, in discomfort, or even stupefaction, asking yourself "What are they doing in this movie? Do they know what they're doing?" They're obviously very clever, very talented, but what's going on? To get at the peculiar nature of *Georgy Girl*, let me go back a bit to *Morgan!*, which probably just because of the way it's out of control, has touched a nerve for this generation.

Thirty years ago, in *My Man Godfrey*, when Mischa Auer as the parasitic left-wing artist entertained the rich family who kept him as a pet by imitating a gorilla, the meaning and relations were so clear no one had to signal us that it was symbolic. In *Morgan!* David Warner isn't nearly as good at the gorilla act, which is plastered with so many tags and labels that all we can be sure of is that it's meant to be symbolic. He's not just a parasitic left-wing artist with a gorilla act, he's the misfit as hero, and a child-like romantic rebel, anarchist, outsider, non-conformist, etc.; he's also crazy, and in his Pop fantasy life he is King Kong. *Morgan!* was Ionesco's *Rhinoceros* turned inside out: the method of *Rhinoceros* may have been absurd but its meaning was the conventional liberal theme – the danger was people becoming conformist-animals. *Morgan!* is a modernized version of an earlier, romantic primitivist notion that people are conformists, animals are instinctively "true" and happy and, of course, "free."

Morgan! was maddening to many older people because of its kids' notion of non-conformity as crazy fun, its way of giving adolescent confusion the borrowed significance of symbols, its maudlin, schizoid mixture of comedy and whimsy and psychopathology and tragedy and pathos. It seemed the ultimate in grotesque Pop homogenization: Trotsky's death acted out in farce with a smashed eggshell went even farther than Edward Albee turning a great writer's name into a stupid joke. As we came out of the theatre, feeling rather numb, my companion said, "It's the end of everything. *Morgan!* started out as a TV play and it will probably wind up a series called *My Husband, the Gorilla.*"

I haven't bothered to say that *Morgan!* is a bad movie because although that's implicit in what I'm saying, it's a minor matter. The point is that it's not an ordinary movie and whether it's good or bad is of less interest than why so many young people respond to it the way they do, especially as, in this case, they are probably responding to exactly what we think makes it bad. Sometimes bad movies are more important than good ones just because of those unresolved elements that make them such a mess. They may get at something going on around us that the moviemakers felt or shared and expressed in a confused way. *Rebel Without a Cause* was a pretty terrible movie but it reflected (and possibly caused) more cultural changes than many a good one. And conceivably it's part of the function of a movie critic to know and indicate the difference between a bad movie that doesn't much matter because it's so much like other bad movies and a bad movie that matters (like *The Chase* or *The Wild Angels*) because it affects people strongly in new, different ways. And if

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it be said that this is sociology not aesthetics, the answer is that an aesthetician who gave his time to criticism of current movies would have to be an awful fool. Movie criticism to be of any use whatever must go beyond formal analysis – which, I think, in movies is generally a disguised form of subjective reaction to meanings and implications, anyway.

Those who made *Morgan!* probably not only share in the confusion of the material but, like the college audience, *accept* the confusion. And this is, I think, new – this indifference to artistic control. I think *Morgan!* is so appealing to college students because it shares their self-view: they accept this mess of cute infantilism and obsessions and aberrations without expecting the writer and director to straighten it out or resolve it and without themselves feeling a necessity to sort it out. They didn't squirm as we did: they accepted the grotesque and discordant elements without embarrassment. I'd guess that to varying degrees, they felt they *were* Morgan. And that suited them just fine.

They may be shocked when they see that he really is crazy and in pain, but they can quickly accept that, too, because he's mad in a Pop way they respond to – madness as the ultimate irresponsibility for the rebel, the only sanity for those who see what the "responsible" people supposedly did to this world, and all that. If flipness is all (as it is in so many of the new movies) the flip-out is just an accepted part of life. Students liberally educated not to regard analysis and breakdowns and treatment as anything shameful, refer to their own crack-ups casually, even a little proudly, like battle scars, proof that they've had *experience*. They even talk about breakdowns as "opting-out" – as if it were a preference and a moral choice. And of course to flip out and then flip back again, that makes you a hero because you've *been* there. It also takes the fear away.

Georgy is a misfit heroine: it isn't that she doesn't want to conform but that she can't because she just about *is* a gorilla. She's a brontosaurus of a girl, with the bizarre problems of a girl who's too big to be treated as a girl, and she's child-like and "natural" and artistic and all the rest of the paraphernalia which now decorates characters designed to be appealing to young audiences. *Georgy Girl* is so shrewdly designed it will probably appeal to older audiences as well. The out-of-control thing is so bad you take it for granted from the beginning. What's offensive about it is that *Georgy Girl* is already a commercialization of what in *Morgan!* seemed a genuine split and confusion. Lack of control is made grotesquely *cute*. Although it's funny, it's tricky and anarchistically chic and on the side of youth (like *The Knack*) – as if the most important thing that the writer and director could imagine was to be "larky."

Georgy Girl is so glib, so clever, so determinedly "kinky" that everything seems to be devalued. It's the cleverness of advertising art, of commercials, of fancy titles – it's as if nothing really meant anything and nothing simple could work any more. It's "touching" one moment and weird the next, and like *The Knack*, it has evaporated before you're outside the theatre.

Even that sense of discomfort, of puzzlement evaporates, because it is all made trivial – Georgy's pain as well as her bright remarks. For example, without any preparation or explanation, there is a horrendous sequence in which she makes a monstrous fool of herself at a party, and then everything goes on as if it never happened. Will the episode or the lack of reactions to it be upsetting to a younger audience? I doubt it. I recently saw a famous professor make such a spectacle of himself on a public platform that I had one of those great feminine intuitions – a premonition that he would go home and kill himself. As it turned out, he gave a big party for his students later that night, and his students didn't think anything special about how he'd behaved on the platform, because he did it all the time. Maybe they liked him for it; it made him more colorful, more of a character. His lack of control brought him closer to them. And I assume that we're supposed to like Georgy more because she acts out her ludicrous and self-pitying impulses, and doesn't think too much about it afterward. She has all the blessings of affect and of affectlessness.

Is *Georgy Girl* a good movie or a bad one? It just isn't that simple. To discuss the cast (Lynn Redgrave, Alan Bates, James Mason) or Narizzano's direction wouldn't help. It's a less important movie than *Morgan!* because it isn't so seriously confused; it doesn't touch a nerve, it only comes teasingly close. It's more enjoyable partly because it doesn't get at anything so fundamental.

These movies are not just symptoms that will go away. I think a pretty good case could be made for including *Lord Love a Duck* and *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* among the American works that are out of control, and this may suggest that here, as in England, some of the most talented people don't really quite know what they're doing. At best, we may get something that makes a new kind of art out of embarrassment; at worst, lack of control may become what art is taken to mean.

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There is already a generation for whom art is the domain of the irrational, of whatever can't be clearly expressed or clearly understood, and they have adopted film as their medium, their "religion."

And the general public probably cares less about artistic control than has been assumed, or the public is also changing. One of the most surprising box-office successes of last year, *A Thousand Clowns*, laid some claims to being about non-conformity and it, too, went more and more out of control, becoming redundant and embarrassing and gross in that same they-don't-know-what-they're-doing way. It didn't take its hero as far as Morgan's romantic insanity but only to romantic crackpotism – harmless American non-conformity. The hero's idea of freedom was just wandering in Central Park with a kid and making TV-style jokes about TV before going back to do it for money. Basically, it was about as non-conformist as Mom's apple pie, and it even fudged on that much daring by giving the Madison-Avenue spokesman the audience-pulling speech, which the Motion Picture Academy promptly and gratefully honored with an Academy Award.

These movies are full of contradictions. Is part of their appeal the ancient, wheezing plot devices which crank them in motion? The kid is being forcibly taken away from the TV gag-writer; the gorilla is being separated from his mate; Georgy gets a baby to mother only to have the authorities take it away. Underneath all the non-conformity gear are the crooked little skeletons of old Shirley Temple pictures. Heartwarming. *Georgy Girl*, like *The Knack*, is the story of *The Ugly Duckling*, and, by beating *Funny Girl* to the screen it jumps the gun on the new exploitation of comic pathos. And somehow those who made *Morgan!* managed (instinctively maybe but certainly shrewdly) to alter the original TV play hero from a tired adulterer to a monogamous free spirit – probably the purest-in-heart hero of recent years. The director, Karel Reisz's method is so eclectic, in the most blatant sense of that word, that he has taken what he feels will "go" together; the last sequence which so many people have tried to interpret, is borrowed scene by scene from the end of Bunuel's *El*, where it made perfect sense. Here it supplies a "larky" finish. The obscenely "happy ending" of *Georgy Girl* is so off-beat we lose the beat.

Because these movies all use and manipulate Pop, it's easy for serious critics to attack them for their mixture of conventions, for the infantilism of a Morgan, etc. Yet I think that, for example, the meanings of *The Red Desert* were basically just as confused and uncontrolled.

Those who tried to make sense out of *The Red Desert* as an attack on industrialism had their best efforts quashed by word from the source that nothing of the sort was intended. What *was* intended? No one could be sure, yet the movie did express certain modern emotional states with which we're probably all familiar. I once visited a woman in Beverly Hills who sat in a settee backed by a huge inlaid table covered with a marvelous collection of art books, but when I referred to one of them, her face was blank and confused, as if to say, what are you talking about? She almost quivered with terror whenever anyone came into the room, although God knows the butler had screened them carefully. Her conversation, or rather the phrases she dropped from nowhere into nothing, were about whether she should open an art gallery or give up her marriage or take a trip, but to where? I think she would have been perfectly likely to take a sandwich out of someone's mouth if the idea of food suddenly occurred to her.

Obviously, she couldn't think of anything to do with her life so she did nothing for herself, her husband, or anyone else – and made herself "interesting" by her desolation. Is she fascinating? Well in a way, if you like to observe this kind of post-analytic destroyed consciousness. These ladies who are taken care of and give nothing may be the new heiresses of the ages. They're taken care of presumably because they're so sensitive, so vulnerable. But, of course, who with money and nothing to do can't be sensitive and vulnerable? They're not vulnerable to what the rest of us are; they're indifferent to all that. At worst, they're patronizingly envious of us – of our exhausting jobs, our household chores, our struggle to find time to read and

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see and think. Their male equivalent is the handsome rich young man who says, "Sometimes I wish I were Negro or Jewish or something. . . ."

Knowing there are people like this, I can understand that *The Red Desert* relates to something. But the title and Ravenna and industrialism, that's all a red herring, and so, I think, is the use of color in the movie. The bored, indolent ladies of Beverly Hills and elsewhere are much more likely to feel that their *clothes* have suddenly gone gray and to rush out to buy others. Their lovers go gray, too, and they try on others. Despite this relationship to the world around us, I found the movie deadly: a hazy poetic illustration of emotional chaos – which was made peculiarly attractive. If I've got to be driven up a wall, I'd rather do it at my own pace – which is considerably faster than Antonioni's. I thought it qualified as the definitive example of art cinema: a movie becomes cinema when it can bore you as much as your worst experiences at lectures, concerts, and ballet; *i.e.*, when it becomes something you feel you shouldn't walk out on. Those who loved the movie, the TV producers' and architects' wives who feel that their lives are wasted and who are too "gifted" to do good, useful work, were likely to say things like, "I loved looking at it, I didn't care what the content was" which probably means not just that they found it visually pleasurable but that they enjoyed drifting away into vague, stylish emotional states – which is about the only way one *can* respond to the frozen rhythms. And I think they thought it was the story of their lives: they identified with that crazy sensitive broad the way college students do with Morgan. And, as reacting to the movie meant for them not an interpretation which had to be validated by checking it against the meanings and connections in the work, but anything that happened to occur to them as they saw it or thought about it afterward, they didn't necessarily care that it didn't make sense.

What it comes down to is which of these bad movie is their movie, or which these bad movie is their movie, or which fantasy of themselves do they adore?

You can wait to see if the high arts will put us in touch with these distortions of experience, or if the social sciences will deal with them in the "fullness of time," or you can go to the key bad movies now.

PAULINE KAEL

ART

The New Whitney

The Whitney on 54th Street in New York always seemed an annex of the Museum of Modern Art on 53rd. For that reason alone it's good to have the new location at 75th and Madison. But there are better reasons for rejoicing: one, the building by Marcel Breuer; two, the opening exhibition and what it stands for in the Whitney's future.

The building, the work of one of the handful of surviving and practicing members of the Bauhaus, is the final destruction of the fiercely exaggerated functionalism that has long flourished under what its followers have taken to be Bauhaus inspiration. The Breuer building is "upside down." Instead of being set back in the conventional fashion in New York, a fashion that reflects to the inch the regulations in force, the new Whitney is set out, so to speak, its smallest area being the bottom, the largest being the top.

This reversal of normal practice is put to good use in creating an outdoor-indoor sculpture court below sidewalk level. You can look down into it over the parapet along the sidewalk and it is somewhat sheltered by the overhang, as was demonstrated on the rainy opening day. The court is the kind of thing museums in easier locations achieve so easily, but it is a real triumph for a museum as small and as underendowed as the Whitney. There is no strictly utilitarian, functional reason for mak-

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By JEROME AGEL
Editor of a Monthly Misnomer

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ing the building upside down. You don't notice the difference inside, since it is lacking in the expanses of window-wall so widely used in contemporary museum construction.

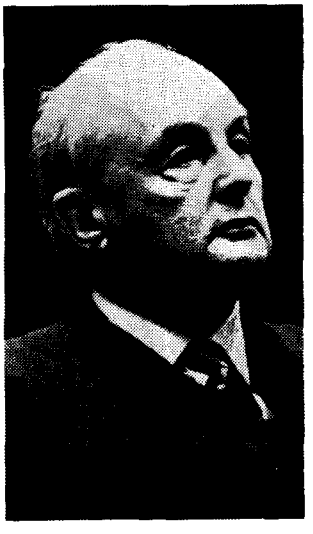
The machinery of the museum seems near-perfect, in contrast to the Guggenheim. Breuer has mastered and incorporated in permanent form the makeshifts that American museum men have evolved over the years in dealing with the vast spaces left them by the past. An overhead grid of cast concrete holds the flexible lighting system and provides the top anchoring for the flexible system of plywood walls. The bottom anchor is provided by flagstone floors, which, incidentally, give substance as well as surface to the passing feet, in contrast to the ubiquitous and bland terrazzo. Anyway, the building exists as two separate things, beautifully brought together and fitted into each other, but still separate: there is the machinery of a modern museum, completely thought out and rationally assembled, including the colors of interiors and the furniture in a series of almost domestic settings along the 75th Street side, recalling the Whitney's origins in a house on 8th Street so long ago. These remembrances of sitting rooms, flowing easily into one another, also recall the domestic virtues of the Phillips Gallery in Washington. The other main element in the mix is the building as a sculptural form – the exterior. The new Whitney, with its dark stone walls, its few windows canted out at angles, its overhang design and the resulting bridge needed to get into it from the street, resembles nothing so much as a fortress, a special place of haven and defense. The history of the Whitney more than justifies that spirit. The museum and its various semi-institutional predecessors invented by Mrs. Whitney did indeed operate as places of refuge and points of strength in what was a long battle for the acceptance of American art by the American art establishment. Now that acceptance is all too complete, the fortress image of the building may apply to art's defense against its friends.

The building does more than keep the rain off and provide an enclosure for the pictures and the machinery necessary to their handling. It offers an elaborate metaphor to the eye. This is exactly what the Beaux-Arts tradition was doing when the Bauhaus pure geometry arrived on the scene. The Greco-Roman temple, the Renaissance palazzo, the Gothic chapel, all offered images and memories, evocations of times and places that had very little to do with the paintings and sculpture housed within the buildings. It will be a long time before anyone takes up eclectic architecture again, but the spell of the severely functional is broken for museums and that is an advance.

The opening exhibition is one of those very rare shows that bring together so many things usually separated by hundreds of miles that visiting it over and over again can save years of travel. The theme is American art for the last three centuries and just about everything you'd want to see is there. The broad survey loses something of its authority when it gets up to the present, but that was unavoidable. There isn't any way to make authoritative choices today and the Whitney show takes one way out. It offers a bit of everything.

The show thus marks the return of the Whitney to its former scope, back from the severely contemporary direction it had throughout its residence on 54th Street. This return is an event of incalculable value. The country doesn't have a museum of American art, as the Whitney has always called itself. The Whitney set out to be one but switched to the 20th century once the century got old enough to provide material. Now it is back on course, partly because contemporary art no longer needs to struggle for a public viewing. Quite the contrary, one problem of the young artist is to resist premature "discovery" by dealers and institutions anxious to get there first. Partly, too, I think, the Whitney's decision to put the past in its future reflects a more general dying down of the passion for the new that wrought such havoc in the two postwar decades.

Frank Getlein



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Correspondence

American Capitalism

Sirs:

I must confess that I was deeply disappointed in the review of my book by Alex Campbell in the October 15 *New Republic* – not because Mr. Campbell is obviously not much taken with the book, but from the absence in his review of any indication of what the book is about.

The Limits of American Capitalism attempts to deal with two questions. The first is the position of big business in American society today. Here it *does* come to the conclusion that the economic and political power of big business has been curtailed by comparison with, say, the 1920's. But it also makes the explicit point that because there is no longer any intellectual rejection of *the system as a whole* (and here I instance the position of *The New Republic* as a case in point), the ideological sway of big business was never more complete. As a result, the "limits" of what can be accomplished under the system are importantly defined by the prevailing business ideology. In this regard I discuss the spectrum of business beliefs and suggest that some modest shift of business views in a liberal direction seems likely.

Second, the book asks the question: suppose the liberal ideology (of a Tom Watson rather than a Roger Blough) does prevail? Then what are the outermost limits of capitalism? Here I discuss what I think can and what *cannot* be accomplished by way of income redistribution, planning, international relations, etc. Beyond that I also offer the opinion that the entire system is being gradually transformed (as was feudalism into capitalism) by the absorption into its bloodstream of an alien body – not the subversive figure of the merchant, as was the case with feudalism, but the subversive figure of the scientist. In some detail I describe both the mechanisms and ideas of science and technology that will, I think, slowly cause the supersession of capitalism.

It seems to me that these are centrally important questions, although they are certainly difficult to answer in a wholly convincing way. I accept with a sigh that I have not convinced Mr. Campbell with my answers, but I think he owes it to me to acknowledge that I have at least asked the questions, and have not written a book (as it would appear from the review) that more or less blandly defends the status quo, turning a blind eye on its excesses and excresences.

Robert L. Heilbroner
New York, N.Y.

Down the Down Staircase

Sirs:

Thanks to Andrew Kopkind ("Down the Down Staircase," October 22) for giving the IS-201 parents a fairer hearing than they got in most of the New York press.

The lesson of IS-201 is clear. If Negro children are not good enough to attend school with white children, if their fathers are not good enough to join white labor unions, if their mothers are not good enough to keep house in white neighborhoods except as servants, and if only four Negroes in New York City are good enough to be public school principals, who can blame parents in Harlem for concluding that white principals are not good enough to educate Negro pupils?

The City Commission on Human Rights says the rarity of Negro principals indicates that someone, somewhere is biased. Negroes seem to pass the written examination for principal often enough. But then, the written examination contains no reference to the applicant's race. Mysteriously, Negroes don't seem to pass the personal interview which is also required.

Despite the mock-horror of editorial writers and columnists (from the *New York Times* to *The Daily News*) who are now attacking the Harlem parents for a betrayal of integration, it is not black power that is standing in the way of this great goal, but rather the same power that has been obstructing the integration of Negroes into American life for 300 years. Even on the day when Stokely Carmichael joined the IS-201 picket line, most of the pickets (black and white and including the undersigned) were integrationists. But even integrationists are tired of what passes for integration in New York's public schools.

Integrated schoolhouses, when they exist, contain largely segregated classrooms in which children are placed "homogeneously" on the basis of reading level. Segregated classes start in the very first grade when "reading level" is, to say the least, problematical. Schools in which whites are a minority are noteworthy for "intellectually gifted" classes which are to nobody's surprise, almost entirely white. These

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SEMI - SKINNERIAN UTOPIAN COMMUNITY being planned. Gerald Baker, Obert, Nebraska.

classes, not the ones filled with deprived children, get most of the enrichment, the French classes, the museum trips, etc. Principals defend the segregated "homogeneous" classes, and the special VIP treatment of white pupils and white parents, as "the only way to keep the school integrated by keeping the white families from pulling out." . . .

Integration which caters to white parents at the expense of black children is a fraud. But the real thing is worth fighting for and always will be. Representatives of the IS-201 parents, denied their own dream of an integrated educational park for the children of Harlem, were at City Hall this month helping Brooklyn groups demand a park that would integrate the schools of Brownville (and one with community and university participation to avoid the Board of Education's Mad-Hatter dis-integration).

Merrill Martin
Brooklyn Chairman, EQUAL

I see that your new education expert, Andrew Kopkind, agrees with the IS-201 "parents" on the great importance of supplying Negro principals for Harlem schools. This would give the children in the Harlem schools the same advantages that have been enjoyed for generations by Negro children in the deep South. That's why – that's why what?

Martin Mayer
New York, N.Y.

Kauffmann, *from page 24*

first name? He refers to "the novel by Schwarz-Bart" that became a best-seller but does not cite its title. And he completely omits any word of the book industry's chief promotional effort in the last 15 years, the National Book Awards.

In larger matters of insight, the end for which one presumably accumulates data, Madison tends to be myopic. For instance, there is no examination of the reasons why the US joined those countries that issue most new books in paper covers. (If it was because the US was following the English example, then why did England opt for hard covers?) There is mention that the firm of Leypoldt and Holt, founded in 1866, was the first publishing house to operate neither a bookstore nor a printing plant, but it is only a passing mention; this watershed fact is not explored. Nor does Madison explore the general migration of publishing to New York. (The first American publisher, like the first theatre, was in Philadelphia.) Nor does he explore the American passion for encyclopedias and compendiums, on which passion a number of firms were founded.

Insufficiently explored, too, is what is possibly the most signal intrinsic change in publishing – one that does not necessarily mean decline but certainly does entail differences from the past. In the 1948 Bowker Lecture, Ken McCormick, the editor-in-chief of Doubleday, said:

> "The most important change in an editor's job today is that he has slowly acquired the publisher's responsibility . . . The publisher now concerns himself far more than ever before with business management."

A generation later, this is even more true. A publisher was once a man who selected manuscripts, manufactured books and sold them to the public. He is now usually a man who runs a firm that employs people who select manuscripts, select manufacturers, and sell books to people who sell them to the public. Perhaps, as promised, a publisher will soon be the head of a firm that supplies microfilms to shops which will print copies to a customer's order in a few minutes.

Well, if social and cultural and economic factors have caused profound changes in the arts themselves, how could those factors fail to cause changes in the businesses attendant on the arts? What we can hope for – a perhaps thin but tenable hope – is that the instant libraries of the future will nourish an interest in literature. If that happens, all the fuss about technological and corporate changes will fade. If that doesn't happen, the technological and corporate changes won't matter.

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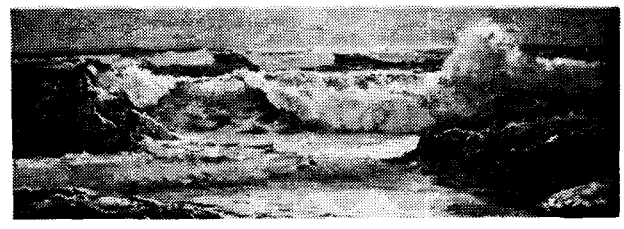

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